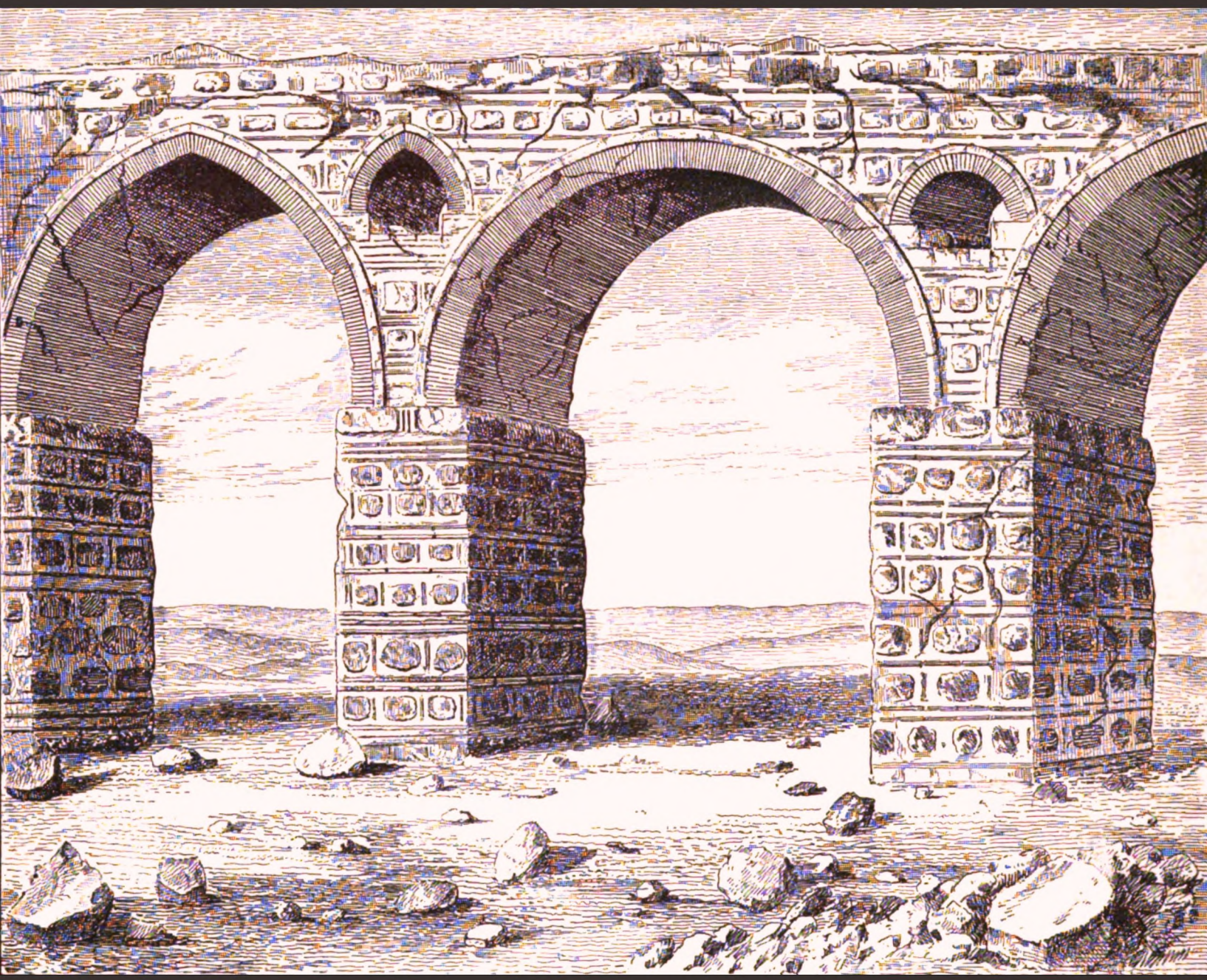
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Anitquarian researches in Illyricum

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ANTIQUARIAN

RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

(PARTS I. AND II.)

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

WESTMINSTER:

PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1883.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGIA,

VOL. XLVIII.

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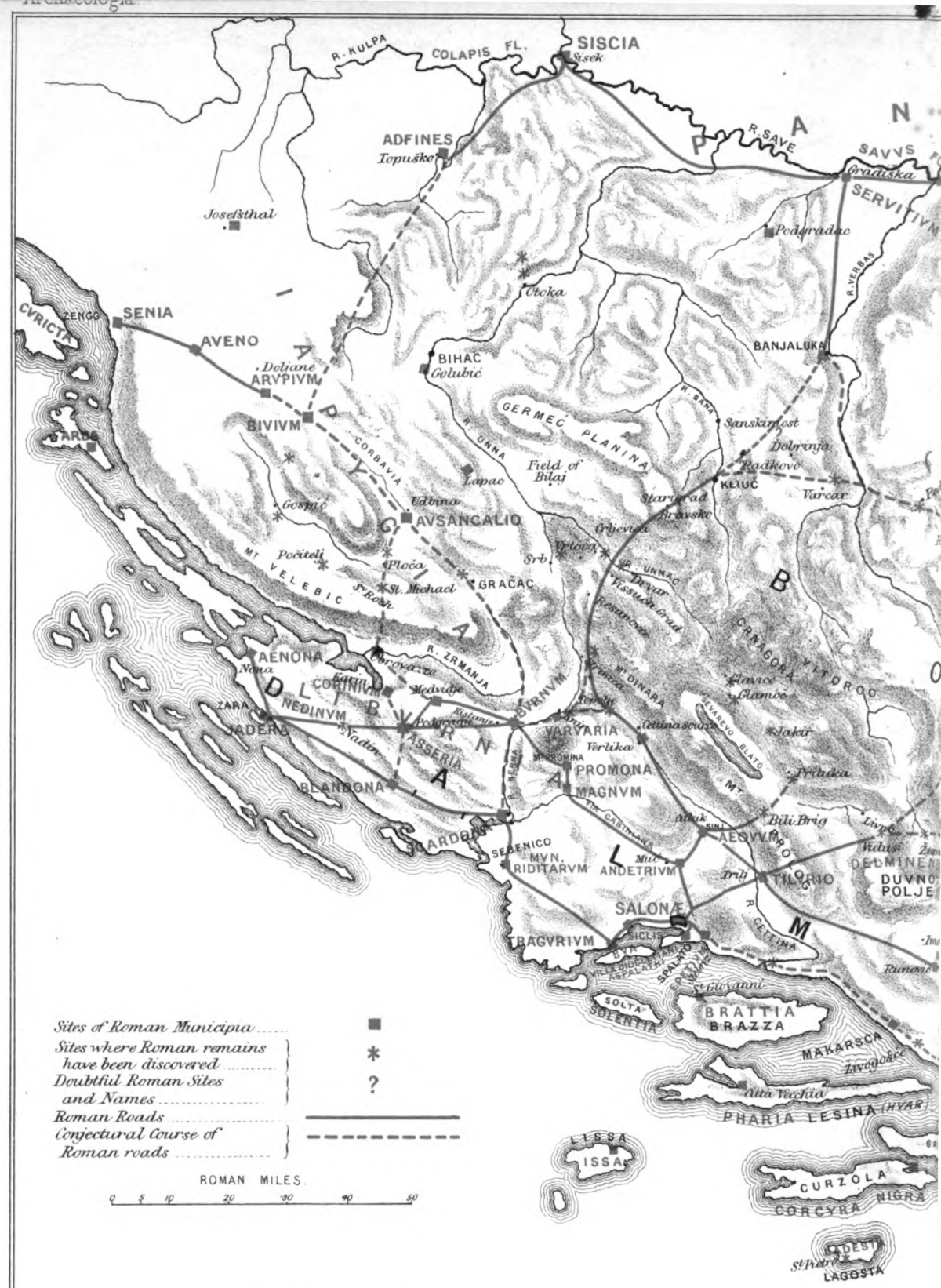
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Sites of Roman Municipia ■
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ROMAN MILES.
0 5 10 20 30 40 50

SKETCH MAP
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Indicating the Course of the Roads and the Sites where Roman Remains have been discovered.

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CHES IN ILLYRICUM, BY A.J. EVANS, F.S.A.

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ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

I – EPITAURUM—CANALI—RISINIUM.

Owing to the neighbourhood of the civilized republic of Ragusa, which sprang as it were from the ashes of the Græco-Roman city, the antiquities of the Dalmatian Epidaurus have been investigated from the early days of the Renascence. The merchant antiquary, Cyriac of Ancona, who visited Ragusa during his voyage into the Levant, undertaken in 1435, had already begun the work of copying the remaining inscriptions, which was continued in the next century by the native Ragusan antiquaries, who supplied Aldus Manutius and others with epigraphic materials from the Epidaurian site. The work thus early begun was worthily continued in the last century by the Ragusan patrician De Sorgo,[a] more recently by Dr. J. A. Kasnačić and others, and Professor Mommsen personally collated many of the inscriptions for the great work of the Berlin Academy.[b] The aqueduct and general antiquities of the site are treated at length by Appendini, but in a somewhat fantastic and uncritical manner.[c] A residence on the spot has now

[a] *Comment. Lud. Cervarii Tuberonis de origine et incremento Urbis Rhacusanæ.* Ragusa, 1790.

[b] The hitherto known inscriptions from the site are collected in C. I. L. iii. p. 288 *seqq.* and Prof. Mommsen (*s. v.* EPIDAURUM) gives a résumé of the earlier sources for the epigraphy of the place.

[c] *Notizie istorico-critiche sulle Antichità, Storia e Letteratura di Ragusei.* Ragusa, 1802, t. i. lib. i. ii. The remains at Ragusa Vecchja have been touched on since Appendini's time by Stieglitz, *Istrien*

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enabled me to make some fresh contributions to the materials already collected, and to correct perhaps some prevailing misconceptions.

The site of the ancient city, at present occupied by a small town called, by a curious transference of names, Ragusa Vecchia, but still known to its Slavonic-speaking inhabitants as Zavtat or Cavtat, from the earlier Romance form *Civitate*, is on a small peninsula jutting out from the opposite side of the bay to that on which its offspring Ragusa stands. Although the Dalmatian Epidauros, or, to accept the prevalent local orthography, Epitaurum,[a] does not appear in history till the time of the Civil Wars, the name itself may be taken as a sufficient indication that it was an Adriatic colonial station of one or other of its Peloponnesian namesakes; and its peninsular site was just one of those which offered special advantages to the early Greek settlers on a barbarian coast.

Mommsen, indeed, who visited this site in order to collate the monuments for the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, has revived in a new form a theory, already propounded by Mannert,[b] and others, that the site of Epitaurum is to be sought at Prevlaka, at the entrance of the Bocche di Cattaro, and not on the peninsula of Ragusa Vecchia. It has been pointed out by these authorities that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* makes Epitaurum 105 miles distant from Lissus and 103 [c] from Narona, while Pliny [d] makes it equidistant—100 miles from either—and it has been urged that these measurements can only be reconciled with the position of Prevlaka.

As Mommsen however himself admits, the statement of the *Itinerarium Maritimum* [e] that Epitaurum was 200 stadia from the isle of Melita (Meleda) can

und Dalmazien, p. 264 (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1845), Wilkinson, *Dalmatia* i. 373 (London, 1848), Kohl, *Reise nach Istrien, Dalmazien und Montenegro*, ii. 33 *seqq.* (Dresden, 1856), Lago, *Memorie sulla Dalmazia* (Venezia, 1870), and others, but the notices are slight and add little to our knowledge.

[a] On a *Privilegium Veteranorum* of Vespasian found at Salona there is mention of a P. Vibius Maximus,—EPITAVR . EQ . R. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana* the name appears as *Epitauro:* in the Geographer of Ravenna as *Epitauron* (379, 14) and *Epitaurum* (208, 10). In St. Jerome (*Vita S. Hilarionis*) *Epitaurum:* in the sixth century Council-Acts of Salona, *Epitaurensis Ecclesia.* The town is alluded to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) as τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα; and its early Slavonic name was *Starigrad Pitaur*, still preserving the *t* in preference to *d.* The readings of Ptolemy (2, 16, 5), Pliny (23, 143), and Antonine (*It. Mar.* 520), cannot weigh against this consensus of local testimony; but we need not with Prof. Tomaschek (*Die vorslawische Topographie*, &c. p. 37) seek an Illyrian derivation for the name.

[b] 7, 350.

[c] Accepting the correction of the distance Narona—Ad Turres (see p. 79).

[d] *Hist. Nat.* iii. 22, 143.

[e] A MELITA EPIDAVROS STADIA CC. *It. Antonini*, 520.

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only be reconciled with the Ragusa-Vecchian site. He further observes that any one who, like himself, has visited Ragusa Vecchia, who has seen the remains of the amphitheatre cut out of the solid rock, the traces of the Roman harbour, the inscriptions which, though not presenting in a single case the name of the city, are numerous and imposing, and the other abundant traces of Roman habitation that are daily brought to light, can fail to recognise the fact that a famous and important Roman city must have existed at this spot, epithets which, among all the Roman stations on the coast between Lissus and Narona, alone apply to the Colony of Epitaurum.[a]

In order to reconcile these conflicting indications Mommsen has recourse to the hypothesis that the original Epitaurum existed at Prevlaka, but that for some reason unknown, and at a still flourishing period of the Roman Empire, it was transferred to the Ragusa-Vecchian site; so that there would be an Old and New Epitaurum as well as an Old and New Ragusa.

This hypothesis, not very hopeful in itself, appears to me to be untenable for several reasons. At Prevlaka a single inscription only has been discovered, referring to a decurion of the *Sergian* tribe,[b] the tribe to which the citizens of Risinium and the Roman predecessor of Cattaro belonged, but not the tribe of the Epidauritans, which was the *Tromentine*. Taken by itself, therefore, this inscription supplies internal evidence that it belonged to one of the known Roman cities of the Rhizonic Gulf. A careful examination of the isthmus and peninsula of Prevlaka has convinced me that no ancient town has ever existed at that spot.[c] Not only are all architectural traces wanting, but the soil is absolutely deficient in those minor relics, such as fragments of pottery and tiles, that always mark an ancient site.

On the other hand, there have been discovered on the site of Ragusa Vecchia indubitable relics of Hellenic intercourse, dating from præ-Roman times.

[a] C. I. L. iii. p. 287, *s. v.* EPIDAURUM. I do not know to what Prof. Mommsen refers as the remains of the Amphitheatre.

[b] C. I. L. iii. 1738.

[c] Dr. Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga archeologičkoga Družtva* (*Journal of the Croatian Archæological Society*), iii. p. 52, and cf. ii. p. 102, completely corroborates my observations: "Na Prevlaki neostoje ni traga rimskomu gradu, a rimski nadpis koji ondje stoji uzidan u crkvici bez dvojbe je iz Risna ili iz Kotora donesen." (There is not a trace of a Roman town at Prevlaka, and the Roman inscription, which is there walled into the church, has been doubtless transported from Risano or Cattaro.) Dr. Ljubić is replying to G. Gelchich, who in his *Memorie sulle Bocche di Cattaro* (Zara, 1880), p. 7, asserts at random that remains of the city exist at Prevlaka.

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Among the coins here brought to light, I have noticed several silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, of the third century B.C., in one case an autonomous coin of Scodra, dating probably from about the year 168 B.C.,[a] and I have, myself, picked up a small brass coin of Bœotia. A few years since there was dug up here a pale carnelian intaglio in the perfect Greek style, representing Apollo Agyieus, guardian of roads and streets, leaning on a pillar and holding forth his bow.[b] The old Greek connexion with this part of the Dalmatian coast is still traceable in the local names, and one of the Ragusan islands has preserved in a corrupted form the name of the *Elaphites Nésoi.*[c]

Finally, I hope to be able to adduce some fresh evidence as to the course of the land communication between Epitaurum and Narona which may serve to reconcile completely the statements of Pliny and the author of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with the position of Epitaurum as indicated by existing remains, and may enable us to dispense once and for all with the ingenious hypothesis of Mommsen. This evidence I am compelled to reserve for a future paper; but it may be useful to mention that I have discovered the traces of the Roman junction road from Epitaurum, running inland, and not, as hitherto supposed, along the coast; and that an inscription on this road shows that, in Claudius's time at any rate, the maritime terminus of this road was to be found on the Ragusa-Vecchian site.

The existing architectural remains of Epitaurum are small. The rocky nature of the soil has hindered the usual accumulation of *humus*, which so often preserves for us at least the foundations of ancient buildings. On the other hand, what remained of the Roman city has, no doubt, largely contributed to supply its more renowned mediæval offspring with building materials. Epitaurum, only seven miles distant, across the bay, by sea, has become a convenient quarry for Ragusa. Traces of the quay, however, and parts of the city walls, may yet be seen, and the ancient steps, cut in the rock, show that several of the steep and narrow streets of Ragusa Vecchia, the small town that now partially occupies the

[a] *Vide Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pl. XIII. fig. 2.

[b] This gem is now in the possession of Mr. W. J. Stillman. It greatly resembles that engraved by King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. XV. fig. 8, and probably preserves the outlines of a celebrated statue.

[c] Lopud (*It. Mezzo*) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, *Dalafota, i.e. Da Lafota* or *D'Alafota*, Cf. Dr. Constantin Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prag, 1879, p. 9. Pliny (*H.N.* iii. 30, 151), mentions the seven Elaphites Insulæ as lying south of Melita (Meleda).

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site, follow the Roman street-lines. On the height, now crowned by a chapel of S. Rocco, are evident remains of the Roman cemetery, the oblong cavities of *sarcophagi* being cut out of the solid rock; and on the shore of the Bay of Tiha, along which the Roman road leading to the peninsula gate of Epitaurum must have run, are still to be seen Roman mortuary inscriptions cut in the face of a ledge of rock. That considerable suburbs existed on this side is shown by the fact that Roman remains are abundant as far as Obod, where a fine tessellated pavement[a] was discovered in the last century; and in the bay itself walls believed to be Roman are at times visible in the shallows. On the further side of the present harbour of Ragusa Vecchia Roman remains are also distinctly traceable. In the walls and courtyards of the present town are fragments of sculpture, and columns, inscriptions, and monuments, amongst which is an interesting representation of a Roman *Signifer* (fig. 1).[b]



Fig. 1. ROMAN SIGNIFER.

[a] "I di cui vivacissimi colori con maraviglioso artificio fra loro disposti presentano all' occhio una serie luminosa di vaghissime liste," is Appendini's high-flown description of this mosaic in 1802. *Storia di Ragusa*, p. 50.

[b] The engraving which I here reproduce is taken from my work on Bosnia, in which I have already given a popular account of some of the Roman Antiquities of Ragusa Vecchia.

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But the most important relic that remains of Roman Epitaurum is unquestionably the Aqueduct. The total length of this great work, the remains of which extend to a mountain source called Vodovalja, on the further side of the plain of Canali, is about fifteen miles. I have myself traced it throughout the greater part of its course, and from a comparison of its different levels am persuaded that the water was in places conducted up eminences *à siphon* by means of large reservoirs *à chasse* and *à fuite*, as has been shown to be the case with some of the great aqueducts of Provence. The arches by which it spanned the level tracts have unfortunately all perished, though some were existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum within the memory of man. The last pier of one of these, formerly existing just outside the present gate of Ragusa Vecchia, was removed not longer ago than 1875 to widen the road in honour of the Emperor Francis Joseph's visit. The great length of this aqueduct curiously illustrates the known daintiness of the Romans in regard to their water supply. At a point several miles nearer Ragusa Vecchia the aqueduct spanned a mountain source called Gljuta, far more copious than that to which it is ultimately conducted. The water of the Gljuta, so far as my own experience goes, is not only deliciously cool to bathe in but eminently drinkable. I found however that the natives of the district through which the aqueduct runs, and to which it gives its name Canali, the old Serbian Župa Konavalska, have a prejudice against either drinking or bathing in the water of this stream. They declare that it is slightly saline, and that after drinking it you are quickly seized with thirst again, that bathing in it is liable to give you ague, and that it is not beneficial to herbage. Hence they call it Gljuta, or the bitter water. This prejudice may be traditional, since, although the Canalesi are at the present day a Slav-speaking people, the name Canali itself, and many of the village names[a] of the district as well as some of the prevalent physical types attest a considerable survival of Illyro-Roman blood.

[a] As for instance *Molunta* (cf. Illyrian-Messapian suffix *-untum*, *-ventum*, &c.), *Vitaljina* from Vitalis, *Cilippi*, not to speak of the mediæval reminiscences of Epitaurum, as *Starigrad Pitaur*, and its modern local name, *Cavtat=Civitate*, cf. Rouman: *Cetate*, *Citat*, Albanian: *Giutet*, &c. (cf. p. 32). Excavations conducted by my friend Dr. Luschan and myself in mediæval cemeteries about Mrcine and Sokko, not far distant from the head of the Aqueduct, amply demonstrate the prevalence of non-Slavonic crania. For the survival of Roman local names in the territory of Ragusa, see Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 8. Still more curious are the fragments of the Roman provincial dialect of Dalmatia existing in the Slavonic dialect of the Ragusans. Vide Prof. Luko Zore, *Dubrovnik*, iii. p. 195, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku.* (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.)

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The remains of the piers that still exist are formed of a conglomerate of rubble-masonry, mortar, and bricks, and not of deftly-hewn blocks as in the aqueduct of Salona. The most interesting feature in the existing remains is the conduit hewn out of the solid rock, which may be traced for miles in the more hilly part of the country to be traversed, taking great curves in order to maintain the level. In the last century, to judge from a manuscript letter of the secretary of the Republic of Ragusa, Antonio Alleti, to his friend Mattei at Rome, it must have been still more perfect. "I have been," he writes on December 14, 1724, "with much satisfaction at Canali to see the Aqueduct through which the Romans from a distance of thirty Italian miles [an exaggerated estimate] used to conduct the water to Epidaurum, and in order the better to enjoy that venerable antiquity at times I rode on horseback in the very channel in which at one time the water ran." [a]

It is noteworthy that in Canali the breadth of the channel of the Aqueduct is nearly three times as great as at Ragusa Vecchia. More water was needed in this part of its course to be employed in irrigating the fields. The district of Canali is still the best artificially-watered tract in the whole of Dalmatia, and the inhabitants seem to have preserved the art of irrigation from ancient days.

The Aqueduct on abutting on the peninsular hill on which Epitaurum stood ran along the northern wall of the Roman city, which follows for awhile the northern steep of the peninsula, the city itself lying below on the southern flank of the hill, where the town of Ragusa Vecchia is at present situate. From the north-western angle of the old city wall it descends slightly, in part of its course by a subterranean channel tunnelled out of the rock, to a semicircular Chamber overlooking the ancient quay, and which appears to have formed part of the public baths.

Just above this spot I excavated a very perfect portion of the ancient channel. The channel itself had been hewn, here as elsewhere, in the more rugged part of its course out of the limestone rock, but the vault above had been constructed of masonry and concrete. From the pitch of the vaulting to the floor the height

[a] "Sono stato con sommo contento in Canali per vedere gli avanzi dell' Acquedotto per cui i Romani dalla lontananza di trenta miglie avevano condotto l'acqua in Epidauro, e per maggior godere di quella veneranda antichità alla volta con cavallo mi cacciai in quel letto medesimo su cui un tempo scorreva l'acqua." The correspondence of Alleti is in the possession of Don Paulovich of Ragusa, by whose kindness I am enabled to reproduce the parts bearing on the antiquities of Epitaurum. Cervarius Tubero, *Commentaria suorum temporum*, remarks, "Quod autem Canalensis ager territorii Epidaurii fuerit, argumentum est opus mirabilis structuræ effectum, quâ a vigesimo prope milliario aqua in urbem perducta est, partim subterraneo rivo, partim opere arquato."

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was exactly five feet, the object being apparently to enable workmen to walk along it when repairs were necessary. The rock walls sloped inwards from the spring of the arch so as to present a somewhat coffin-like section, due, no doubt, as in the case of a coffin, to the desire to give space for the upper and broader part of a man's body. The base was trilateral (fig. 2).

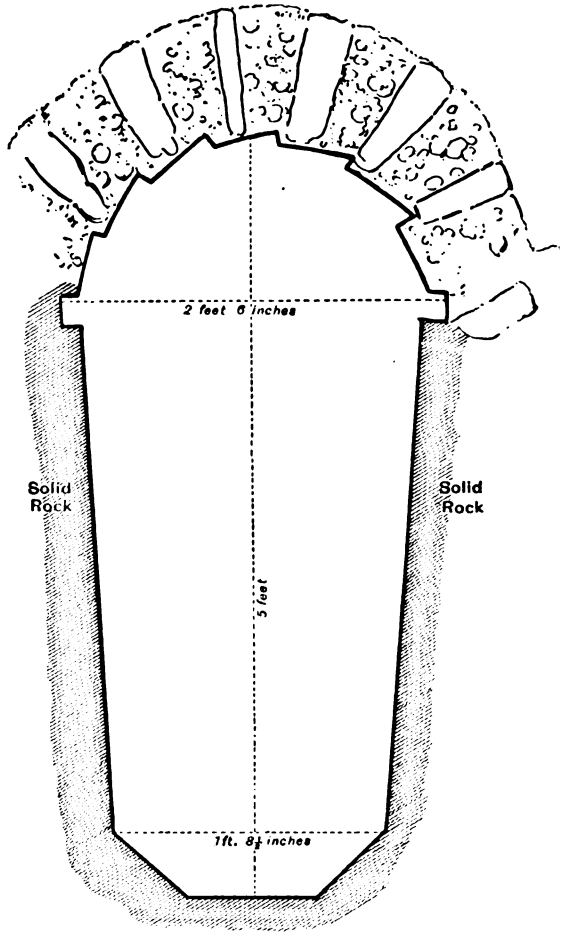
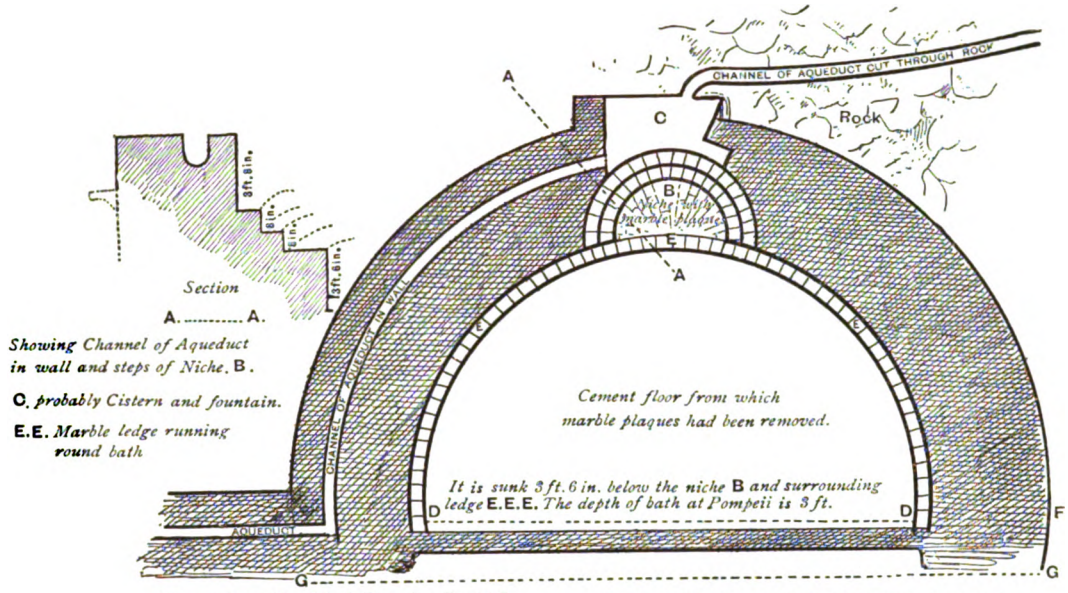


Fig. 2. Section of Aqueduct tunnelled through Rock. Epitaurum.

The most remarkable feature, however, is the vaulting above the rock channel. The concrete with which its surface is coated presents a curious cogged or serrated section, due to the impression of the planks of the wooden framework or centering on the soft material, as is proved by the grain of the wood being itself in places reproduced. From this it appears that the centering employed by the

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Epitaurian architect was different from those generally in use at the present day. That it consisted of overlapping planks supported below on a semicircular framework is evident, but it is difficult to understand what the special advantages of this form of centering may have been. The fact, however, that no interstices are left between the planks, shows that the concrete used was of a very soft nature.



(Fig. 3.)

Bath Chamber at Epitaurum.
(Ragusa Vecchia.)

The semicircular basin into which the channel of the aqueduct runs was excavated by me in 1878 (fig. 3). The water entered the Chamber by a semicircular niche containing two steps 8 inches high. This again opens into what was evidently a semicircular Piscina, about 46 feet in diameter, floored with cement, and surrounded with a ledge on which the bathers could stand. The depth of the Piscina is 3 feet 6 inches, about half a foot deeper than a similar bath at Pompeii. Not only the niche and surrounding walls and ledge, but the concrete floor of the bath itself, had been covered with plaques of marble, all of which—with the exception of fragments—had been removed by the inhabitants. The channel of the Aqueduct is continued along the middle of the western wall of the building, and thence along another wall which follows the line of the straight

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side of the Piscina. Unfortunately, however, the ruin of the rest of the bath buildings has been too complete to admit of reconstruction.

The hitherto known inscriptions discovered on this site are collected in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, and many of those still existing on the spot have been personally examined by Professor Mommsen. The most important of these, containing an honorary dedication by the cities of Upper Illyricum to P. Corn. Dolabella, who, as Pro-prætor under Tiberius, directed the execution of at least five great lines of roadway from Salona into the Dalmatian interior, now, unfortunately, exists only in a fragmentary condition.[a] According to the accounts of the Ragusan antiquaries, this inscription was originally discovered, together with a head and other fragments of a statue, at Obod, in 1547, in the remains of a small quadrangular building that lies about a mile distant on the line of the Roman roadway that leads to Epitaurum from the north. The building itself has the appearance of a low tower, about 18 feet square, and, according to the testimony of a local antiquary, originally showed traces of a cupola.

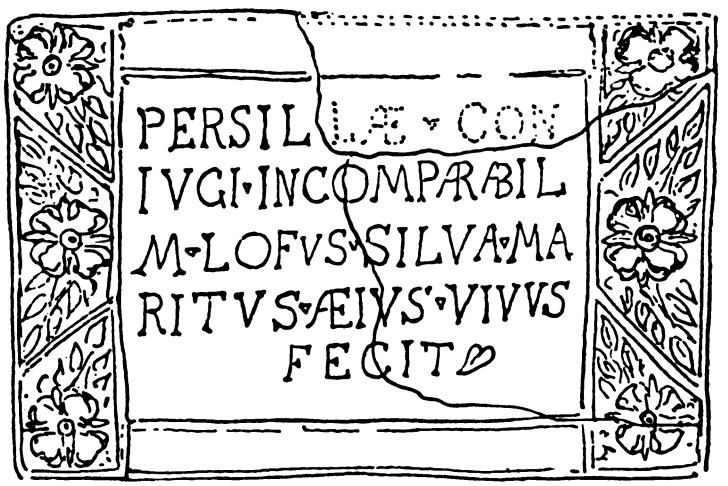


Fig. 4. EPITAURUM.

It has certainly been built up of the remains of an earlier building, as frag-

[a] C. I. L. iii. 1741. In its perfect state the inscription ran: P. CORNELIO ‖ DOLABELLAE cos ‖ VII.VIRO.EPVLONI ‖ SODALI.TITIENSI ‖ LEG.PRO.PR.DIVI.AVGVSTI ‖ ET.TI.CAESARIS.AVGVSTI ‖ CIVITATES SVPERIORIS ‖ PROVINCIAE HILLYRICI. This Dolabella is referred to by Vellejus Paterculus, who, after mentioning the good government of his Illyrian province by Junius Blæsus in A.D. 14, continues: "Cujus curam ac fidem Dolabella quoque, vir simplicitatis generosissimæ, in maritima parte Illyrici per omnia imitatus est."

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ments of moulding and a portion of a triangular arch had been built into the walls.

To the inscriptions discovered at Ragusa Vecchia I am able to add the following. The right hand portion of fig. 4 I found in 1875, embedded in a recently constructed wall in the upper part of the town. I afterwards learnt that the inscription had originally been discovered in a more perfect state, and succeeded in obtaining from an inhabitant of Ragusa Vecchia a native copy of the inscription in its entirety, from which I here supplement my own.

On the lower part of a sarcophagus carved out of the solid rock, in the Roman cemetery already mentioned as existing on the summit of the Epitaurian peninsula, I was able to decipher the following fragment of an inscription (fig. 5) :



Fig. 5. INSCRIPTION ON SARCOPHAGUS HEWN OUT OF THE ROCK. EPITAURUM.

Hearing that a "written stone" had been found some time since, embedded in the Roman Aqueduct, at a point near the north-east corner of the ancient city, but had subsequently been removed for building purposes, along with other fragments from the same source, and buried in the foundation of a wall, I prevailed on the owner of the wall to permit its re-excavation. It proved to contain the following not uninteresting inscription. (See fig. 6.)

The portion of the inscription that has been preserved may be completed:

|| *A*QVILIO // . *F*. *TR*OM(*entina sc. tribu*) AQVI*LIN*O
AEDILI *II* *V*IRO IVRE *DIC*VNDO QVI*nQVENNALI.*

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We are thus presented with the first epigraphic record of the highest municipal dignity at Epitaurum—that of the Duumviri Quinquennales—elected every



Fig. 6. EPITAURUM.

lustrum, or five years, to discharge in their Municipium duties analogous to those performed by the Censors at Rome, whose title, indeed, they on occasion assumed.[a] One of their most important functions was to revise, in accordance with the fundamental law of the city, the list of the *Decuriones*, or local Senators, and to enter it in the album, or *Libro d'Oro*, of their civic Republic. The Patrician Roll of Epitaurum, perpetuated and renewed by its offspring Ragusa, was closed by Napoleon within the memory of man.

The mention of the local Ædile is also new on Epitaurian monuments. The Aqueduct in the ruins of which the inscription was found would have been under his special charge; and we are tempted to believe that the magistrate whose name it records, and who added to his duties of municipal Consul and Censor that of guardian of the public works,[b] had connected his name in some honourable manner with this important fabric.

[a] Cf. Marquardt, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, pt. iii. sec. i. p. 360. Their financial functions seem to have been later on transferred to the *Curatores*.

[b] At Dyrrhachium (Durazzo), Ænona (Nona), and Apsorus (Ossero) on this coast, the titles of AEDILIS and IIVIR QVINQVENNALIS are coupled on inscriptions. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 611, 2977, 3138.) AEDILIS IIVIR is common: but on the other hand there were Ædiles who were not Duumvirs, and Duumvirs

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Considering the peninsular position of the town, the character of the soil, and the climate, which rendered it liable to droughts, the water supply of the city, notwithstanding the existence of an aqueduct, must have been a special care of the civic officers; and we find accordingly another Epitaurian monument recording the restoration by the Duumviri Jure Dicundo, at the public expense, of a large cistern or reservoir.[a] The present city of Ragusa, though provided with an aqueduct constructed by a Neapolitan architect in the fifteenth century, stands greatly in need, during a dry season, of such a reservoir as was provided for her Roman predecessor by the wisdom of the Epitaurian magistrates. The Duumvirs, or local Consuls, are referred to on two other monuments. From an unpublished letter of the then Secretary of the Republic, Antonio Alleti,[b] the brother-in-law of the great Ragusan antiquary, Banduri, it appears that part of the bust of the Duumvir M. Pomentinus Turbo was, in 1724, still attached to the monument recording his name. In three instances decrees of the Decuriones are preserved, in which these municipal senators pay, in the name of their city, the last honours to citizens that had served it. In two instances they vote a public statue: in one case the mother and grandmother of the deceased treating the Decurions, the Sacral College of the Augustals, and their officers or Sexviri, to a banquet, and the citizens at large to a show of prizefighters.[c] The third inscription, relating to

who were not Ædiles. At Narona we read of AEDILIS IIIIVIR: at Salonæ of a Curule Ædile. (C. I. L. iii. 2077.)

[a] P . VIBIVS . P . F . VRBICVS ‖ P . ANVLENVS . BASSVS ‖ II . VIR . I . D ‖ CISTERNAM . EX *Pecunia* . *Publica* . REFICIEN‖DAM . CVRAVERVNT. (C. I. L. iii. 1750.)

[b] Antonio Alleti, Segretario della Repubblica di Ragusa, al Rev^do^ Don Georgio Mattei, a Roma, Dec. 14, 1724: "Mi sono impossessato di un mezzo busto di marmo ed è la figura di M. POMENTINO figlio di M. POMENTINO TVRBONE IIVIRO I. D." The inscription has been published by Aldus Manutius and others and is given by Mommsen, who had himself personally collated it, in C. I. L. iii. 1748; but the hitherto unpublished passage in Alleti's correspondence is, I believe, the only reference to the bust which formerly accompanied it. The inscription itself at present exists in the Casa Gozze at Ombla. Alleti adds, "Anche allo scoglio di Mercanna ho trovato frammenti di vari iscrizioni senza pero che abbia potuto cavare altro che un barlume indistinto." (Mercanna is a rocky isle opposite the peninsula on which Epitaurum stood; personally I have been unable to find Roman remains there.) In a letter written from Ragusa in April 1714 he describes an urn found near Ragusa Vecchia with TIPANSIANAS stamped on the lid. The stamp of the *Figlinæ Pansianæ* is common on Dalmatian sites. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 3213.)

[c] P . AELIO . P . F ‖ TRO ‖ OSILLIANO ‖ NOVIA . BASSILLA ‖ MATER . ET . NOVIA . IVS ‖ TILLA . AVIA . POSVE-RVNT ‖ ET . SPORTVLIS . DECVRIO ‖ AVGVSTALIBVS ET SEXVI‖RIS DATIS ITEM PVGILVM ‖ SPECTACVLO DEDICAVE‖RVNT HVIC VNIVERSVS ‖ ORDO DECVRIONATVS ‖ HONOREM ET LOCVM ‖ STATVAE DECREVIT. (C. I. L. iii. 1745.) Discovered in 1856 in the ruins of an ancient building on the shore.

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a decree of the Decurions, has been only imperfectly given in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,[a] and I therefore reproduce it—

L. F INVITILLA
FILIO PIISSIMO
VFL^{D}DDN.

Nothing, indeed, is more instructive on this site than the large proportion of inscriptions illustrating the municipal life of Epitaurum. Out of twenty-three extant inscriptions no less than ten, or nearly half the total number, refer to the civic government or record the public benefaction of some citizen to the town. Of *tituli militares* there are only two. This overwhelming preponderance of civil and civic records becomes all the more noticeable when we compare the case of Epitaurum with that of the neighbouring coast towns on either side. At Risinium, indeed, out of twenty inscriptions only two have any reference to the common weal. Even at Narona, where there are some splendid records of private munificence to the city, the proportion of municipal records is far smaller than at Epitaurum. At that city the nucleus and germs of the later municipality are to be found in an informal commercial colony of Roman citizens in an Illyrian emporium who formed a *vicus* governed by two Magistri and two Quæstors.[b] On the deduction hither of a formal colony about the time of Augustus we find the city governed by IIIIVIRI, but the civic life of the place seems rather to have centered in the sacral guild of the Augustales, whose *Sexviri* are mentioned in no less than eighteen inscriptions found in that site; and the liberality of the citizens is chiefly displayed in vows of temples and altars to the Gods. The government of a *vicus* was based on sacral rather than purely political relations, and this characteristic seems to have clung to the city even in its later colonial days. At Epitaurum, on the other hand, which was not in its origin a native market, a mere Illyrian tribal aggregation, later moulded into shape by a guild of Roman merchants, but, as its very name proclaims, a Greek colonial city, the case would have been very different from that of Narona. At Epitaurum we may believe that the local Senate, or *Ordo Decurionatus*, and the Plebs of the Roman Municipium, were in some degree, at all events, nothing more than a recasting in a Roman guise of the Boulê and Dêmos of the original

[a] C. I. L iii. 1746, on the authority of Dr. Eitelberger (*Jahrbuch der Central Commission*, &c. v. 288), who makes the third line simply L D D D. The letters, however, as given in my copy, are perfectly clear.

[b] C. I. L. iii. 1820, and cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291, *s. v.* NARONA.

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Dorian colony, still known by their old names in the Greek-speaking half of the Empire on the borders of which this city never ceased to stand. In the Parian colony of Pharia, in the isle of Lesina, which lies a little further up the Adriatic coast, inscriptions[a] have been discovered referring to the Boulê and Dêmos of the Greek city, to the Dêmarch and Prytanes. We find a self-governing community, waging war with the Illyrian mainlanders,[b] striking coins in its own name, receiving legates from another city, and sending a deputation to consult the Delphic oracle. Issa, a Syracusan insular colony on the same Dalmatian shore, presents us with similar monuments,[c] and her Roman Municipium[d] was only a perpetuation of the earlier and more complete autonomy of her Hellenic days. The discovery of Greek coins and gems on the site of Epitaurum to which I have already referred gives us something more than etymological evidence that the Roman city sprang out of an earlier Greek foundation; and though, in the absence of epigraphic records, we are at present debarred from knowing the exact form of its autonomous institutions, we may with confidence infer their general character. To these Hellenic antecedents, to the abiding Hellenic contact of the Roman city, I would refer the specially high development of the civic sense noticeable on the existing monuments of Epitaurum.

Among the gems of Roman date discovered at this site I have noticed another interesting indication of the Hellenic traditions of Epitaurum. Three of those in my possession contain representations of Æsculapius, in two cases associated with Hygieia. This may be taken as fair evidence that the special cult of the Saronic Epidauros was perpetuated in its Illyrian namesake. Dedicatory inscriptions to the God are unfortunately wanting, but the fact that the cult of Æsculapius flourished in the neighbouring city of Narona, and that his name appears there twice under the quasi-Greek form of Æsclapius, is not without significance, as showing the extent to which the cult of the Epidaurian patron had taken root in Roman times on this part of the Dalmatian coast. The serpent form under which the God of healing was worshipped in his inmost shrine may still indeed be said to haunt the ruined site of the Starigrad Pitaur. St. Jerome, writing in the fifth

[a] C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, b, c, d, e. All these Pharian inscriptions are now in the museum at Agram. Vide S. Ljubić, *Inscriptiones quæ Zagabriæ in museo nationali asservantur.* Zagabriæ, 1876, p. 71 *seqq.*

[b] C. I. G. ii. add. 1837, c. The mainlanders with whom the Pharians seem to have been at war were the Jadasini, the inhabitants, that is, of the later Jadera (Zara) and their Liburnian allies.

[c] C. I. G. ii. 1834.

[d] In C. I. L. iii. 2074, are mentioned two *decuriones* of the Roman Municipium of Issa.

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century,[a] mentions that the inhabitants of the Dalmatian town of Epitaurum, who we may inferentially assume to have been then Christian, had handed down a most marvellous tale of how St. Hilarion had freed their city from a portentous serpent or "Boa,"[b] that was devouring both men and cattle, and in this early legend[c] we may be allowed to see reflected the final triumph of Christianity over the local cult. The horrible aspect of this Epitaurian serpent will surprise no one who understands the peculiar animosity displayed by the early missionaries against the God of healing, who as the pagan master-worker of miracles did most to rival their own. At a centre of Æsculapian worship, more than elsewhere, the counteracting tradition of mighty Christian miracles was necessary, and Hilarion, we are told, not only compelled the portent to mount his *auto da fé*, but during a great earthquake, probably the historical earthquake of Julian's time,[d] rolled back the waves that were threatening to engulph the city. The cult of the new and Christian miracle-worker of Epitaurum still survives on the spot,[e] and an unfathomed cavern,[f] whose precipitous recesses descend into a watery abyss, is pointed out by local tradition as the former habitat of the portentous *Boa*. At the present day the peasants tell you that it is the haunt of the Serbian nymphs or Vilas, and that at times a terrible "Neman," or portent, somewhat akin to the Irish Phooka, plunges into its depths. Lying as it does, near the upper or northern wall of the Roman city, it is reasonable to suppose this mysterious abyss to have supplied a local habitation for mythic beings in ancient as well as

[a] S. Hieronymi *Opera*, lib. iii. ep. 2, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*.

[b] "Draco miræ magnitudinis quas gentili sermone Boas vocant." The word boa = huge serpent, was known to Pliny (8, 8, 14). It is remarkable that a large species of snake still found in this district is known to the present Slav-speaking inhabitants as *kravosciac*, *i. e.* cow-sucker, as it is supposed to suck the milk of cows. As Coleti, however, judiciously remarks, it is hardly big enough to *swallow* a dove.

[c] The words of St. Jerome, who must have had opportunities of taking down the tale from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, are worth notice: "Hoc Epidaurus et omnis illa regio usque hodie prædicat matresque docent liberos suos ad memoriam in posteros transmittendam."

[d] This earthquake is placed by the Chronicle of Idatius in the year 385.

[e] In the sonorous words of Appendini (*Storia di Ragusa*, vol. i. p. 68): "Il culto verso questo Santo non è punto scemato appresso i Ragusei: anzi una parrochia di cui egli è il Titolare: il concorso nel dì della sua festa ad una piccola capella vicina a Ragusa Vecchia (e cio per voto), e tre altre piccole chiese innalzate nel sobborgo di Ragusa in sua memoria perpetueranno in tutti secoli avvenire la tenera pietà e gratitudine dei Ragusei verso un sì gran Santo e Protettore."

[f] The existing popular tradition given by Appendini and others, that this and another cave on Mt. Sniesnitza (about five hours distant from Ragusa Vecchia) were sacred to Æsculapius or Cadmus, is of course of later engrafting, and is akin to the appearance of Dolabella in Ragusa-Vecchian folk-lore.

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modern times. It is known to the inhabitants by the name Scipun or Šipun, a word of no Slavonic origin.

It is certain that another ancient cult connected with rocks and caverns, and therefore singularly adapted to the limestone ranges of Dalmatia, that of Mithra, "the rock-born,"[a] flourished at Epitaurum during the Roman Empire. In my work on Bosnia I have already described the discovery of a rock containing a rude bas-relief of Mithra, which stands on the Colle S. Giorgio, that overlooks the site of Epitaurum on the land side. The relief, which is unfortunately much weather-worn, represents Mithra in the usual attitude, sacrificing the mystic bull between two ministers, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, and both with their legs crossed. The representation does not, as is so usually the case, stand in connexion with a natural cave. The Mithraic *spelæum* was necessary to the worshippers as the mystic image of this sublunary world, to which the spirit of man descended, and from which when duly purged by ritual it was to ascend once more, according to their creed, to its celestial abode.[b] We are therefore left to suppose that, in this as in some other instances, the "cave" itself was artificially constructed against the natural rock on which the icon itself is carved. The rock itself faces east, according to the universal Mithraic practice, and within the area which would have been included in the artificial *spelæum*, now wholly destroyed, are two square blocks hewn out of the solid rock, and with a small gutter round them, which were evidently altars. In the artificial *spelæum* found at Kroisbach, in Hungary,[c] two votive altars were found. In the Mithraic temple at Ostia, attached to the baths of Antoninus Pius,[d] there was one large square altar before the chief icon at the east end, and seven smaller ones near what may be described as a side chapel. Representations of these

[a] Τὸν πετρογένη, the epithet applied to Mithra by Johannes Lydus. So St. Jerome (*Adv. Jovinianum*, 247), "Narrant et gentilium fabulæ Mithram et Ericthonium de lapide vel in terra de solo libidinis æstu esse generatos;" and Commodianus (*Liber Instructionum*), "Invictus de petra natus . . . . . deus." At Carnuntum, in Pannonia, an inscription was found—PETRAE GENETRICI. It has been supposed that the idea took its origin from the fact that fire was produced by means of flint; but this method of ignition was apparently, at least among Aryan peoples, a late usage. The real origin of the connexion of Mithra with rocks and mountains should be sought in cloudland.

[b] Cf. Porphyrius, *de Antro Nympharum*, c. vi. &c.

[c] Das Mithræum von Kroisbach. Dr. F. Kenner (in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1867, p. 119 *seqq.*)

[d] *Del Mitreo annesso alle terme Ostiensi di Antonino Pio.* C. Visconti (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 147 *seqq.*)

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smaller altars occur on other Mithraic monuments; they represent the sevenfold nature of fire in the Magian religion.

Although in the present instance there was no trace of a cave, artificial or otherwise, I observed a natural fissure in the rock, below the Mithraic slab, and on clearing it as far as was feasible from the black earth which choked it up, found three small brass coins, one of Aurelian, one of Constantius Chlorus, and the third of Constantius II. From this it may be inferred that Mithraic worship went on at this spot during the third and the first half of the fourth century. Mithraic worship survived, in fact, to a considerably later date in Western Illyricum.

Near the village of Mocici, in the district of Canali, and about an hour distant from the site of Epitaurum, I found a more perfect Mithraic relief carved over the mouth of a limestone grotto known as "Tomina Jama," or "Tom's Hole" (fig. 7). The lower part of the grotto forms a natural basin containing a perennial supply of fresh water, which had been vaulted over to serve as a cistern for the villagers. Situated on a rugged range of hills, still to a great extent covered with a woodland growth of sea pines, cypresses, and myrtles, and its rocky brows overhung when I saw it with the azure festoons of ivy-leaved campanulas, the cavern seemed singularly appropriate for its religious purpose. In selecting such a natural temple the local votaries of Mithra were faithfully following the example of Zoroaster, who, we are told,[a] when founding the worship in its later, established form, sought out a natural cave in the neighbouring Persian mountains, overgrown with flowers, and containing a fount within, which as the microcosm of the created world he consecrated to Mithra, the *Demiurge* or Father of all.

The relief itself gives the conventional representation of Mithra sacrificing the generative Bull of Persian cosmogony, by which, according to this belief, he was to give a new and spiritual life to all created beings, and the typical sacrifice of which at the hands of his votaries brought them Regeneration unto Eternal Life.[b] From below, as is usual on these Mithraic groups, the scorpion, snake,

[a] "Πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Εὔβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερώσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου εἰκόνα φέροντας αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου ὃ ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε." Porphyrius, *De Antro Nympharum*, c. vi.

[b] In the Mithraic mysteries the initiated died fictitiously in order to be born again by the symbolic sacrifice of a bull. TAVROBOLIO IN AETERNVM RENATVS· occurs on a monument of a Mithraic votary in C. I. L. vi. 510. Darmesteter (*Ormuzd et Ahriman*, p. 329) observes that Mithra has usurped the part

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and dog, animals supposed to be specially connected with generative power, dart forward to quaff the life-blood of the victim, while on either side stand the two

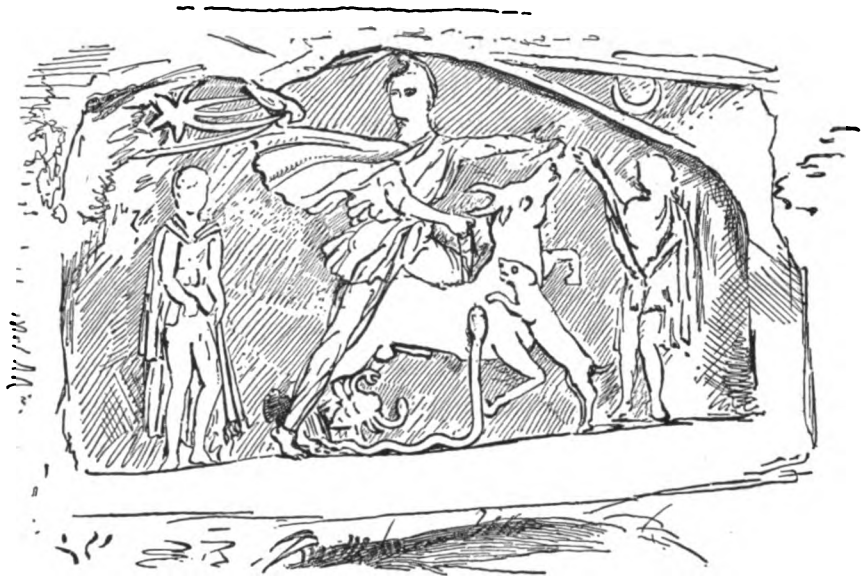


Fig. 7. MITHRAIC RELIEF. TOMINA JAMA, CANALI.

ministering Genii, one with a raised, the other with a lowered, torch, symbolical in ancient art of Day and Night, Grief and Joy, Life and Death; but in the present connexion bearing a direct and undoubted reference to the descent of the soul to earth and its subsequent re-ascent to the heavenly spheres[a] through the purifying grace of Mithra. In the two spandrils of the arch above these figures are seen the crescent moon, from which the human spirit was believed to descend, and the rayed sun, the gate of its return. Three of the seven mystic rays of the orb of light are seen to be prolonged in the present representation, as if to illuminate in a special way the bird which leans forward over the sacrificing divinity. This is

performed by Çaoshyant in the Mazdean religion, who according to the Bundehesh (75, 6) will give men an immortal body from the marrow of the immolated bull Hadhayaos.

[a] The soul was thought to descend from the moon through the "gate" of Cancer, and to ascend again through the "gate" of Capricorn to the sun. Plato had learned this Magian doctrine (cf. Porphyrius, *op. cit.* c. xxx.) On their return to their celestial abode the spirits of men were thought to pass through the seven planets (answering to the seven Mithraic grades on earth), by which they were purified and rendered worthy to enter the fixed heaven, the dwelling-place of Ormuzd.

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the Eorosh, the Celestial raven described as "speaking the language of heaven," and the symbol of Mithra as interpreter of the divine will. The projecting rays on the present monument may seem to have a special significance when it is remembered that one of the distinguishing epithets of the Mithraic raven in the Zendavesta is "irradiate with light."[a] Pray to him, we are told in another passage, and "he will shed much light, both before him and behind him."

The celestial raven, Hierocorax, among the Mithra worshippers of the Roman Empire, gave its name to an inferior grade of devotees, and to the rites connected with their initiation called *Coracica*. The grotto itself, and the rugged ranges that surround it, was admirably adapted for these Mithraic hermits and fakirs to be the scene of the successive trials through which they hoped to mortify the flesh and fit themselves for "the better life."[b] In some remarkable monuments[c] discovered in Transylvania and Tyrol, many of the self-inflicted tortures,—the scorching by fire, the bed of unrest, the flagellations and fasts,—are still to be seen depicted as they once were undergone by the predecessors of Simeon Stylites in these Illyrian wilds that were soon to rival Lérins and Iona as the retreat of Christian ascetics. The basin within the grotto supplied in this instance a natural font for the Mithraic rite, alluded to by Tertullian,[d] of baptism for the remission of sins.

From the site of Epitaurum itself I have obtained an engraved stone, such as, apparently, was given to those who, after the due period of fasting and mortification of the flesh, were admitted to share the Mithraic Eucharist.[e] It is a white

[a] In Lajarde's translation of the passages in the Zendavesta referring to the Eorosh: "Éclatante de lumière" (*Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*, p. 355.) The elongation of the sun's rays is observable on another Mithraic monument, found at Rome in the Via di Borgo S. Agata (*Annali di Corr. Arch.* 1864, p. 177). In this case a ray is made to shoot through a sacred cypress towards Mithra.

[b] Βίον τὸν κρείττονα—the words used by Himerius the Sophist (*Orat.* vii. 9) in describing the state of the initiated.

[c] See Hammer (*Les Mithriaques*, Pl. V. VI. VII.), and cf. Greg. Nazianz, *Orat.* 3, who describes several of the tortures.

[d] *De Præscriptionibus adv. hæreticos*, c. xl. "(Diabolus) ipsas res sacramentorum divinorum idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. Tingit et ipse quosdam utique credentes et fideles suos. Expiationem delictorum de lavacro repromittit."

[e] Cf. Augustine (*in Johannis Evangelium*, Tract. vii.): "Et magnum est hoc spectare per totum orbem terrarum victum Leonem sanguine Agni . . . ergo nescio quid simile imitatus est quidam Spiritus ut sanguine simulacrum suum emi vellet quia noverat pretioso sanguine quandocumque redimendum esse genus humanum." The *Spiritus quidam* is Mithra, as appears from the succeeding paragraph, in which the Christian Father alludes to the honey mixed with the sacramental water of the Persian rite: King's

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carnelian, streaked appropriately with blood-red, containing a singularly rude representation of a figure sacrificing the Mithraic bull before a lighted altar, above which are the crescent moon and rayed sun (fig. 8). The absence of the characteristic Phrygian cap and flowing mantle in the sacrificing figure makes me hesitate to suppose that it is actually Mithra himself who is here depicted. The two ministering Genii, and the scorpion and other animals representing the generative principle, are also conspicuous by their absence. It might have been thought that in any design, however barbarous, of the Mithraic sacrifice, these characteristic features would not have been omitted. Or, have we here, perhaps, simply the representation of the actual liturgic sacrifice performed by the Mithraic priest? So far as the vestment is delineated at all it seems to be simply a short-sleeved tunic or dalmatic. The style of the head would indicate a post-Constantinian age. Another class of gem, discovered on this and other Dalmatian sites, engraved with the Mithraic lion, characterised by its peculiar radiated mane, may not improbably have been the badge of the high Mithraic grade known as Leontes or Lions, and whose special ritual was called from them *Leontica*.



Fig. 8.
MITHRAIC GEM.
From site of Epitaurum.
(Enlarged two diams.)

In this connexion I cannot pass over another engraved stone which appears to me to be intimately connected with Mithraic symbolism (fig. 9). It is a red carnelian, acquired by me at Scardona, on this same coast, presenting a figure of what, judging by other somewhat conventional designs, is intended for a bee, from whose mouth, in place of a proboscis, proceeds the twisted end of a caduceus. Now, from two passages in Porphyry, *de Antro Nympharum*,[a] it appears that the bee, amongst the worshippers of Mithra, was the special emblem of the soul. As bees, according to the ancient idea, were generated by bulls' carcases,[b] so bees, representing the vital

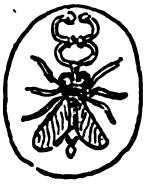


Fig. 9.
MITHRAIC GEM.
From Scardona.
(Enlarged two diams.)

inference (*Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 61), that by the *simulacrum* given to the initiated is betokened an engraved Mithraic gem, affords a reasonable explanation of the passage. It would even seem from St. Augustine's words that he had in view a representation such as the present one of a Mithraic sacrifice, which result gives special point to his parallel. Even as "the Lamb" slays "the roaring Lion," the Devil, so the false Spirit, "the Capped One," is represented by his worshippers as slaying the Bull, which, according to their creed, was to herald the resurrection.

[a] C. xv. and c. xviii.

[b] "ἃς (sc. μέλισσας) βουγενεῖς εἶναι συμβέβηκεν." Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. v. 554:

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principle, sprang from the Cosmic bull of Persian mythology. So, too, no fitter emblem could be found for the spirits of men that swarmed forth, according to this creed, from the horned luminary of the heavens, the Moon, their primal dwelling-place, to migrate awhile for their earthly pilgrimage below. In this way the Moon itself was sometimes known, in the language of the mysts, as "the bee,"[a] and it is noteworthy that the bee appears on the coinage of Ephesus, the special city of the Asiatic Moon-Goddess. The line of Sophocles—

βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμῆνος, ἔρχεταί τ' ἄλη,[b]

may be taken as evidence that the identification of bees with spirits had early invaded Greek folk-lore. Everything seems to point to a Persian origin for the idea, at least in its elaborated form, and had Eubulus's copious history of Mithra been preserved we should doubtless find that it entered largely into the Magian philosophy. On the Roman monuments of the sect a bee is sometimes seen in the mouth of the Mithraic lion,[c] as the emblem of the soul—*βουγενής* like to insect—and, connected with this symbolism, was the practice of mixing honey in the eucharistic chalice, and the singular rite performed by the *Leontes* or Lion priests of Mithra,[d] of purifying their hands with honey in place of lustral water. From all this it will be seen that the present conjunction of the bee and the well-known symbol of Mercury, the shepherd of departed souls, has a deep mystic significance. In the hands of one of the ministering Genii, symbolising the ascending soul, on a Mithraic monument, Von Hammer[e] detected

> "Hic vero subitum ac dictu mirabile monstrum
> Aspiciunt liquefacta boum per viscera toto
> Stridere apes utero et ruptis effervere costis."

It is to be observed that this portent is obtained by sacrifices offered to the shades of Orpheus and Eurydice; an indication that Virgil was conscious of a mystic connexion between bees, the Magian bull, and the spirit-world.

[a] "*σελήνην τε οὖσαν γενεσεως προστάτιδα μέλισσαν ἐκάλουν, ἄλλως τε ἐπεὶ ταῦρον μὲν σελήνη, καὶ ὕψωμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος, βουγενεῖς δὲ αἱ μέλισσαι.*" Porph. *op. cit.* c. xviii. An allusion to the same idea will be found on a very interesting engraving on a gold ring from Kertch (in the Siemens Collection) representing a bee above a full-faced bust of *Deus Lunus*.

[b] *Fragmenta* (Dindorf. 693). Quoted by Porphyrius, *op. cit.* in this connexion. Bergk emends the *ἔρχεταί τ' ἄλλη* of Porphyrius, as above.

[c] As for instance on one engraved by Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum*, Oxonii. 1700, tab. I.

[d] Porph. *op. cit.* c. xv.

[e] *Les Mithriaques*, p. 252.

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a wand, described by him as resembling that of Mercury; from which it may be inferred that the caduceus was by no means alien to the later Mithraic iconography.

It is impossible to close this account of the traces of Mithra worship existing on the site and in the immediate neighbourhood of Epitaurum without recalling a sepulchral inscription described as existing here by Aldus Manutius and the early Ragusan antiquaries,[a] the spiritualism of which bears striking witness to the triumph of Oriental religious ideas in the Roman city:

CONVBII · DECVS · EGREGIVM · LVX · ALMA · PARENTVM
EXIMIVMQ · BONVM · CORPORIS · ATQ · ANIMI
INVIDIA · FATI · RAPITVR · VINCENTIA · FLORENS
ET · NVNC · ANTE · PATREM · CONDITVR · HELIONEM
QVIN · POTIVS · CORPVS · NAM · MENS · AETERNA · PROFECTO
PRO · MERITIS · POTITVR · SEDIBVS · ELYSIIS.

The belief in the immortality of the soul, in the reward of the righteous and the incorporeal resurrection, set forth in this epitaph, are among the characteristic features of the Mithraic creed, and its language suggests comparisons with such formulæ as "MENTIS DIVINAE DVCTV·" and "IN AETERNVM RENATVS," of known Mithraic monuments. The imagery of Elysium, as portrayed by Virgil (not untouched himself by Persian influences),[b] had certainly much in common with the starry paradise of these children of "the Unconquered Sun:"

Largior hic campos æther et lumine vestit
Purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.[c]

Among the smaller relics found amongst the ruins of Epitaurum, the engraved gems, of which this and the other Roman sites of the Dalmatian littoral are astonishingly prolific, are by far the most interesting. At least a hundred of these from this spot have come under my personal observation, and in such abundance are they discovered in a field near the point of the Epitaurian peninsula that we are perhaps justified in inferring that a jewellers' quarter of the city lay on that side. As I propose to take a more collective view of the gems

[a] Given in C. I. L. iii. 1759. I have been unable to find any trace of its present existence.

[b] See p. 23, *note* [b].

[c] *Æn.* vi. 640.

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discovered on the Dalmatian sites, I shall here content myself with calling attention to one which, like the Æsculapian and Mithraic stones already mentioned, seems to have a special local interest. In the *Reliquiario* of the Cathedral at Ragusa I noticed a ring, a peasant offering to the Madonna, set with a carnelian intaglio, which, from the character of the subject and the workmanship, must be assigned to the fourth or fifth century of our era (fig. 10). It represents an Emperor on horseback, robed in the *paludamentum* or military mantle, facing the spectator, and with both hands raised in the attitude of adoration common in figures of saints and martyrs in the catacombs, and in Byzantine representations of the *Theotokos*. Above, on either side of the riding figure, are two crosses, and in the exergue below are the crescent moon and star, the emblems of Byzantium. There can be little doubt that it is intended to represent the Vision of Constantine, on the eve of his crowning victory over Maxentius:



Fig. 10.
ROMAN CHRISTIAN GEM—EPITAURUM.
(Enlarged two diams.)

> Hoc signo invictus transmissis Alpibus ultor
> Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus.[a]

The appearance of *two* crosses in the design suggests some variation from the recorded versions of the Vision, but the moon and star below sufficiently connect the adoring figure with the founder of New Rome. The only existing contemporary monuments directly referring to the alleged miracle hitherto known are the coins of Constantius II. and the Mœsian usurper Vetranio, both from Illyrian mints, and dating from the year 350,[b] on which these Emperors are severally depicted holding the Labarum standard and surrounded with the legend HOC SIGNO VICTOR ERIS. The present gem supplies an actual representation of the celestial Vision, hitherto, so far as I am aware, entirely unknown on early Christian monuments.

[a] Prudentius, *Contra Symm.* i. 467.

[b] In the case of Constantius possibly also of 351. As Vetranio was deposed in January of that year the design can have nothing to do with the appearance of a cross in the heavens recorded four months later in the Chronicon Alexandrinum and in a letter of Cyril, both which authorities fix the date of the meteor, or whatever it was, on May 7, 351. Still less can it have any reference to the Vision of Constantius, which, according to Philostorgius, took place on the eve of the battle of Mursa, in September or October 351.

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A silver ring obtained by me from the same Epitaurian site (fig. 11) proved to be a Roman-Christian relic of probably still later date than the gem in the *Reliquiario*. Its bezel contains an incised monogram, which, like many similar monograms of the fifth and sixth centuries, is difficult to decipher, and has besides been cut about by a later hand. On the exterior of the ring, in late letters inlaid in darker metal or niello in the silver, is the inscription, curiously inverted, VIVA IN VIVA, apparently standing for VIVAS IN VITA.



Fig. 11.
ROMAN CHRISTIAN RING — EPITAURUM.

These two Roman Christian relics, with some Byzantine coins—including an aureus of Phokas—are the latest Epitaurian antiquities that I have been able to discover. The statement, repeated by the latest writer on Dalmatian history,[a] that Epitaurum was destroyed by the Goths in 265 A.D. and its successor, Ragusa, founded shortly afterwards by the surviving citizens, rests on no authority whatever, and is wholly at variance with recorded facts. St. Hilarion, as we have seen, wrought his miracles at Epitaurum in Julian's reign, about a century later, and St. Jerome—Illyrian-born—took down the local tradition of the Saint's mighty works, apparently from the lips of the Epitauritans themselves, in the first quarter of the fifth century.

Equally impossible is it to accept the statement (probably due to an error of transcription) made by Constantine Porphyrogenitus,[b] who observes of the year 949—in which he wrote his account of the Dalmatian Theme—that it is the fifth centenary of the founding of Ragusa, built, as he tells us, by refugee citizens from the overthrow of Salonæ and Epitaurum. There is no evidence that Attila destroyed, or even approached, these cities. The Dinaric Alps seem, in fact, to have been as useful in shielding the Dalmatian coast-cities from the Hunnish cavalry as they were nearly a thousand years later in breaking the fury of the Tartar invasion; and at a time when Siscia and Sirmium lay in ruins Salonæ and

[a] H. Cons. *La Province Romaine de Dalmatie* (Paris 1882, p. 285): "Les Goths avaient encore fait irruption au-delà du Danube, pénétré de nouveau jusqu'à l'Adriatique et détruit la Colonie d'Epidaure (Ragusa Vecchia, 265). Les habitants de cette malheureuse ville se réfugièrent au fond de la baie cachée où bientôt s'éleva Raguse." Now, although the Eastern provinces of Illyricum, including Macedonia and Greece, suffered fearfully at this time, there is no mention of Dalmatia being invaded, much less of Epitaurum having been destroyed.

[b] *De Adm. Imp.* c. 29: "Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ῥαουσαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκράτουν τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἠνίκα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκρατήθησαν κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλάβων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ θέματι, ἐκρατήθη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν οἱ δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δυνηθέντες ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ διασωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς ὑποκρήμνους τόπους κατῴκησαν . . . . . ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαλῶνα μετῴκησαν εἰς Ῥαούσιον εἰσὶν ἔτη φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἤτις ἰνδικτιῶνος ἑβδόμης ἔτους στνεζ'."

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Epitaurum were still flourishing. In 536, during Justinian's Gothic war,[a] we find the Byzantine commander making Epitaurum—still, as is to be gathered from Procopius's words, a city of some importance—a preliminary base for his descent on Salonæ. Six years previous to this, in the provincial council of Salonæ of 530,[b] Fabricianus, bishop of Epitaurum, was the fourth in order to attach his signature.

Still later, in 591, the bishop of Salonæ appears exercising his metropolitan authority to deprive and exile Florentius, bishop of Epitaurum, in a fashion so uncanonical as to provoke a remonstrance from Gregory the Great.[c] Seven years later Florentius is still in exile, and Gregory, stirred by a renewed appeal from "the inhabitants of the city of Epitaurum," again urges on his brother of Salonæ the necessity of bringing the matter to a canonical issue.

Whether he attained his object we are not told, but this letter of 598[d] is the last mention of Epitaurum as a city. The "*Sancta Epitauritana Ecclesia*,"[e] to whose spiritual head, Pope Zacharias,[f] in 743, concedes an extended charge over the southernmost Dalmatian cities, and the, by that time, Serbian and Zachulmian lands of the interior, can hardly be more than an ecclesiastical anachronism, and must refer to the church of Ragusa which claimed Epitaurum as its ancient self. In the first year of the seventh century, Gregory sends the bishop of Salonæ the expression of his vehement affliction for what Dalmatia and its border lands were already suffering from the Slavonic hordes.[g] From another of his letters, written

[a] Procopius, *de bello Gothico*, lib. 1.

[b] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 163. The bishop of Epitaurum signs next to the bishop of Siscia, what Attila had left of that once great city being now in ecclesiastical subjection to Salonæ.

[c] Farlati, *op. cit.* t. vi. p. 4 *seqq.*

[d] Gregorius Sabiniano Episcopo Jadertino (in Farlati, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 269) *ad fin.* :—*Præterea habitatores Epidaurensis Civitatis Florentium quem suum dicunt esse Episcopum sibi a nobis restituendum studiosissime poposcerunt.*"

[e] In the same way after the destruction of Salonæ, the church of Spalato was still known as "*Sancta Salonitana Ecclesia.*"

[f] This important letter, formerly in the Ragusan archives, begins "Dilecto in Christo filio Andree archiepiscopo Sancte Epitauritane ecclesie. Constituimus te omnibus diebus vite tue esse pastorem te et successores tuos super istam provinciam. Imprimis Zachulmie regno et regno Servulie, Tribunieque regno. —Civitati namque Catarensi seu Rosa atque Buduanensi, Avarorum (Antivarorum?), Liciniatensi (Ulciniatensi), atque Scodrinensi, nec non Drivastinensi atque Polatensi cum ecclesiis atque parochiis eorum." Owing to the insertion of the Archiepiscopal title doubts have been thrown on the genuineness of this letter. It is, however, accepted by Kukuljević, who gives it in the *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiæ*, &c. p. 35.

[g] Gregorius Maximo episcopo Salonitano . . . "Et quidem de Sclavorum gente quæ vobis valde

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about the same time, we learn that Lissus—in the language of the times the *Civitas Lissitana*—the present Alessio, on the Dalmatian coast south of Epitaurum, was already in Slavonic hands, and its bishop an exile.[a] Salonæ, itself, seems to have been overwhelmed in the great Avar-Slave invasion of 639. Epitaurum, at the most, could not long have survived the fall of the greater city. It is, perhaps, something more than a coincidence that 649, the year in which Pope Martin dispatched his legate to Dalmatia for the redeeming of captives and the rescuing of the sacred relics from the hands of the heathen Slaves,[b] attained its tercentary in the year 949, mentioned by Constantine as the five hundredth anniversary of the founding of Ragusa by the refugee citizens of Epitaurum and Salonæ. If we may suppose that the Φ, representing 500 in the original MS. of Constantine, or in some MS. notes from which the Emperor copied, has been accidentally substituted for a T=300, his notice may conceal a genuine historical date.

The mainland behind the peninsular site of Epitaurum, and, in a certain sense, the whole region between it and the next sea-gulf to the South-East, the Bocche di Cattaro, derives its name, Canali, from the artificial *canal* of the Roman Aqueduct already described which traversed a great part of its extent. It is, indeed, remarkable that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in whose valuable account of tenth century Dalmatian geography the name Canali first occurs, should have assigned to it a different derivation[c] from the sufficiently obvious one of Canalis in its sense of a watercourse, and his remarks on the origin of the name have been hitherto placed in the same category with his suggested derivation for the Dalmatian city of Jadera, "jam erat." But the etymology of the Byzantine Emperor is by no means always of this fantastic kind,[d] and in the

imminet affligor vehementer et conturbor. Affligor in his quæ jam in vobis patior; conturbor quia per Istriæ aditum jam Italiam intrare cœperunt."

[a] Mansi, *Collectio Concil.* t. ix. Gregory appoints the refugee bishop to the bishopric of Squillace. Should, however, his own city be liberated at any time from the enemy he is to return to it.

[b] Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iii. p. 22.

[c] Šafarik for example (*Slawische Alterthümer*, ii. 271) imagines Constantine's derivation of Canali to have been founded on some blundering reminiscence of "*Kolnich*," which appears as the Slavonic equivalent of *Via Carri* in a document of the year 1194 referred to by Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. vi.)

[d] His explanation for instance of the name of the neighbouring old Serbian district of Zachulmia, "*ὀπίσω τοῦ βουνοῦ*" is a perfectly correct piece of Slavonic etymology. Equally exact is his rendering of the Croatian *Primorje* by "*ἡ Παραθαλασσία*." His derivation for the river-name *Bona* contrasts favourably with Šafarik's.

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present instance he had more warrant for his suggested explanation than may at first sight appear. Constantine, whose Dalmatian topography is singularly accurate, after mentioning the Serbian district of Terbunia, observes that beyond this is another district called Canali. "Now Canali," he continues, "in the Slavonic dialect means a wagon-road, since from the level nature of the spot all transport service is accomplished by means of wagons."[a] If we now turn to the Theodosian Code we find that the word *canalis* is used there in the sense of a highway or post-road. In the law on the public posts promulgated by Constantius II. a special provision is made against the abuse of wealthy or powerful citizens requisitioning the pack animals[b] (post-horses), reserved for the public service of the province, to convey the marble required for their palaces along the *canalis* or highway. In the law regulating the functions of the *Curiosi*, or imperial post-inspectors, the *canales* are spoken of in the sense of the post-roads along which wheeled traffic of all kinds was conducted.[c] In the Acts of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 347) the word occurs in the same sense, and in this case has special reference to the great postal and military highway across Illyricum from the borders of Italy to Constantinople. Gaudentius,[d] bishop of Naissus, in Dacia Mediterranea, a city which derived its importance from its position on what was then the main line of communication between the Eastern and Western halves of the Empire, proposes a canon specially affecting bishops, who, like himself, are on the *canalis* (in its Greek form *κανάλιον*) or highway; and Athanasius in his *Apologia* alludes in a similar manner to the bishops on the *kanalion* of Italy.[e]

[a] "Τὸ δὲ Καναλὴ ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ τῶν Σκλάβων διαλέκτῳ ἁμαξιά, ἱππειδή, διὰ το εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἱππίσιον, πάσας αὐτῶν τὰς δουλείας διὰ ἁμαξῶν ἐκτελοῦσιν." *De Adm. Imp.* c. 34.

[b] *De Cursu Publico*, xv. "Mancipium, cursus publici dispositio Proconsulis formâ teneatur. Neque tamen sit cujusquam tam insignis audacia qui parangarias aut paraveredos ad canalem audeat commovere quominus marmora privatorum vehiculis provincialium transferantur." Du Cange (*s.v. Canalis*) interprets this to mean that pack-horses, &c. destined for lanes and bye-ways are not to block the highway, but agrees in the important point that *canalis* = *via publica*.

[c] *De Curiosis*, ii. "Quippe sufficit duos (sc. agentes in rebus) tantummodo curas gerere et cursum publicum gubernare ut licet in canalibus publicis hæc necessitas explicetur." (Law of Constantius and Julian, 347 A.D.) Gothofred (ad loc.) observes, "Illud satis constat hic non pertinere ad aquarum seu fluminum canales, quandoquidem in his rhedæ, birotum, veredi, clabulæ, moveri dicuntur."

[d] Gaudentius (*Conc. Sardic.* can. 20) speaks of "ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς παρόδοις ἤτοι καναλίῳ καθιστώτων." In the Latin translation (Mansi, t. iii. p. 22): "Qui sumus prope vias publicas seu canales." Ducange supposes that the word *canalis* in a charter of A.D. 1000, published by Ughellus (*Episcopi Bergamenses*), has the same meaning of "*via publica*."

[e] *Apol.* i. 340, οἱ ἐν τῷ καναλίῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας.

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Whatever associations, however, the word *canalis* had in the mouth of a Byzantine, the natives of Canali itself seem to have derived this name for their district from the Roman Aqueduct.[a] The word, indeed, as used in this sense, passed from the Illyro-Roman inhabitants to the Slav-speaking occupants of a later date, and, when the new aqueduct connecting Ragusa with a mountain source in another direction was built in the fifteenth century, it, too, was known by a Slavonized form of the Roman Canalis.[b] The district of Canali itself had by Constantine's time become the Serbian *Župa Konavalska*, otherwise *Konavli*, but the parallel preservation of the word in its Roman form, which his record attests, is of interest as corroborating what we know from other sources as to the considerable survival of the Illyro-Roman element throughout this whole region.

Politically the country outside the limits of the still Roman coast-towns was by Constantine's time in the hands of Slavonic Župans, but side by side with the dominant race the older inhabitants of the land continued to inhabit the Dinaric glens and Alpine pastures. The relics of the Roman provincials who survived the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum were divided, in Dalmatia at all events, into two distinct classes, the citizens of the coast-towns, who retained their municipal and ecclesiastical institutions and something of Roman civilization under the ægis of Byzantium, and the Alpine population of the interior, the descendants for the most part of Romanized Illyrian clansmen recruited by the expropriated coloni of the municipia, or at least that part of them who had been forced to give up fixed agricultural pursuits for a semi-nomad pastoral life. Both classes spoke the Latin language, approaching, in various stages of degradation, the Romance variety still spoken by the Rouman population of parts of Macedonia and the Danubian provinces; and both were indiscriminately spoken of by their Slavonic neighbours as Vlachs, or Mavrovlachs: Romans, or Black Romans.[c]

[a] In Serbian it often appears in the plural form, *konavle* = the channels, showing that the name took in the lateral system of irrigation which ramified across the plain from the main Aqueduct. The plain of Canali is still (as has already been noticed) one of the best irrigated regions in Dalmatia—the inhabitants having in this respect inherited their Roman traditions.

[b] Konô (*i. e.* konol).

[c] The earliest Dalmatian chronicler, the Presbyter of Dioclea, who wrote about the year 1150, expressly identifies this Rouman population with the descendants of the Roman provincials of Illyricum. After mentioning the conquest of Macedonia by the Bulgarians under their Khagan he continues: "post hæc ceperunt totam provinciam Latinorum qui illo tempore Romani vocabantur modo vero Morovlachi, hoc est nigri Latini, vocantur." *Regnum Slavorum*, 4.

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Ragusa[a]—the new Epitaurum—was in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus still a Roman city, and though in the course of the succeeding centuries Ragusa became a Slav-speaking community there are still interesting traces of her older Illyro-Roman speech to be found in the later dialect,[b] while the names of many of the surrounding villages clearly indicate a Neo-Latin origin. The name Cavtat (in its earlier form Capětatě) still applied by the present Slav-speaking population of the neighbourhood to the town that occupies the Epitaurian site is, as we have seen, simply a Rouman *Civitate*, to be compared with the Wallachian *Cetate* or *Citat*, and the Albanian *Giutet* or *Kiutet*. Molonta, Vitaljina, and other Canalese villages, still present us with non-Slavonic name-forms,[c] and there is documentary evidence that as late as the fifteenth century the shepherds who pastured their herds on the mountains of Upper Canali were still Rouman or Wallachian.[d]

[a] The materials relating to the Rouman population of Dalmatia, Herzegovina, &c. existing in the archives of Ragusa have been collected by Dr Const. Jireček in his paper entitled *Die Wlachen und Maurowlachen in den Denkmälern von Ragusa. (Sitzungsberichte der k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1879).

[b] *e. g. Dókes* = decessus (of the tide), *rekesa* = recessus, *plaker* = placere, *lukjérnar* = lucernarius. (Prof. Luko Zore, *Naš jezik tijekom naše književnosti u Dubrovniku.* (Our language in the course of our literature in Ragusa.) (*Dubrovnik*, iii. 1871.) The preservation of the *k* sound of the Latin *c* is also a characteristic of the Latin forms contained in Albanian. The discovery of a Roman-Christian glass bowl of sixth-century date among the ruins of Doklea (Dukle in Montenegro), presenting inscriptions in the local dialect, shows that this guttural survival was an early peculiarity of the Romance dialect of this part of Illyricum. On the Doclean vase under the figure of Jonah and the whale occurs the line "*Diunan de ventre queti liberatus est*," where the "*queti*" for "*ceti*" is, as the Comm. di Rossi (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1877, p. 77) points out, not a mere barbarism but an archaistic survival carrying us back to the "*oquoltod*" for "*occulto*," "*quom*" for "*cum*," &c. of the S. C. de Bacchanalibus. On a Dalmatian inscription (C. I. L. iii. 2046) QVELIE occurs for COELIAE. In the matter of the survival of the *k* sound of the *c* Dalmatia showed itself more conservative than the West. The epigrammatic address of Ausonius to Venus,

"Orta salo, suscepta solo, patre edita cœlo"

loses its alliterative point unless the *cœlo* be pronounced as beginning with a sibilant: and the natural inference is that in fifth-century Gaul the guttural sound of the Roman *c* had been already softened down.

[c] *E. g.* Vergatto (Sl. Brgat), mediæval Vergatum, from Latin *Virgetum;* Zonchetto, Latin *Junchetum;* Rogiatto (Sl. Rožat) = *Rosetum;* Delubie, on the bank of the Ombla, = *Diluvies.* (Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelstrassen*, &c. p. 8.) Montebirt, the name of a pine-clad height near Ragusa, seems to me to be a *Mons Viridis* (cf. *Brgat* for *Virgetum*), though the derivation from a combination of the Latin and Slavonic name for mountain—*brdo*—has been suggested by Professor Zore. In the latter case it would find a parallel in "Mungibel." The rocky promontory of Lave or Lavve on which the earliest city of Ragusa was built derives its name from a low Latin form *labes* = land-slip. Constantine Porph. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29) gives it under the form λαῦ and makes it = κρημνός.

[d] Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen und Maurowlachen*, &c. p. 6.

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Excavations made by Dr. Felix von Luschan and myself in the mediæval cemeteries of Canali have supplied craniological proofs of the existence here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of a non-Slavonic race presenting apparently Illyrian and Albanian affinities. What is especially pertinent in this regard, a large number of the skulls on which this generalisation is based were obtained from a mediæval graveyard above the present village of Mrcine, known from old Ragusan records[a] to have been a Vlach or Rouman centre as late as the fifteenth century. The name Mrcine itself, written *Marzine* according to the Ragusan orthography, appears to me to be of the highest interest. It is a characteristically Rouman word, and is found with its derivatives in the present Rouman lands north of the Danube under the form *Mrăcina* or *Măracină*, meaning the prickly thorn of Eastern Europe,[b] *Cratægus Oxyacantha*, the Slav *Drač*, with which indeed the rocks of Mrcine are covered. The Roumanian antiquary Hajdeu,[c] who notices its appearance as a Vlach surname in a chrysobull of the Serbian Emperor Dušan, which contains many references to the still existing Rouman population in the old Serbian regions, after pronouncing the word, justly enough, to be neither of Latin nor of Slavonic origin, expresses his opinion that it is probably derived from the old Dacian tongue. It would seem to be rather of Illyrian origin, for the modern word for blackthorn among the Albanians, the existing representatives of the Illyrian stock, is Muris-zi, in the plural Muriza-te.[d] The name Mrzine or Mrcine appears in this case to have been a Rouman equivalent for the old Slavonic name of the hilly district on whose borders it lies:—*Dračevica*, or the "Thorny Country," from *drač, drača*, the Serb equivalent of the Wallachian *Mărăcina*.

The colossal stone blocks with their curious devices and ornamentation that cover the graves at Mrcine show that those who built them had considerable resources at their disposal.[e] In the Middle Ages indeed these descendants of the

[a] *Libri Rogatorum*, 1427-32. The older name for Mrcine in the Ragusan records is Versigne. Cf. Jireček, *Die Wlachen*, &c. p. 6.

[b] *E. g. Mărăcinișu*, = a place overgrown with thorns; *Mărăcinosu*, = thorny.

[c] *Archiva istorica a Romaniei*, t. iii. Bucuresci, 1867. *Resturile unei carti de donatiune de pe la annul*, 1348, *emanata de la Imperatul Serbesc Dušan*, &c.

[d] This etymology, if admitted, would be a strong argument against the exclusively Thracian origin of the Wallachians, which at present finds so much favour.

[e] Similar mediæval megalithic cemeteries, of which I hope to say something on another occasion, are scattered over a large part of what is now Herzegovina, Bosnia, Northern Montenegro, and certain districts of Dalmatia, and are common to both old Serbian and old Rouman districts. They are therefore not by themselves of ethnographical value. The inscriptions when found are always Serbian, and in Cyrillian

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Illyro-Roman provincials were the carriers and drovers of the peninsula. In the Balkan interior they were the pilots of Ragusan commerce. Their wandering enterprise reopened ancient trade routes, and they seem not unfrequently to have availed themselves of old Roman road-lines known only to themselves. On the mediæval caravan route, leading from this Vlach station to the Trebinje Valley, is another station of the same kind, at present conspicuous only by its ancient sepulchres and monuments, but which still bears the distinctively Rouman name of Turmente. *Turma* was the name given by these mountaineers to their caravans, and I found that the word in this sense has not been wholly forgotten by their Slavonized successors.

The disappearance of the Roman-speaking element at Ragusa itself[a] and in the regions around, was, as a variety of still-existing records shows, of a most gradual character. The Illyro-Roman inhabitants seem to have early discovered the necessity of acquiring the speech of the new settlers and conquerors by whom they were surrounded, and to whom in most cases they were politically subject. The result of this was that they passed through a bilingual stage, continuing to speak their own language among themselves, while able to converse in Slav with their neighbours, a condition of things almost universal on the borderlands of conflicting nationalities, and finding its parallel still in the Dalmatian coast-cities, though there the case is at present reversed, the citizens for the most part speaking Slav among themselves, while holding converse with outsiders in Italian. One result of this habit has been that throughout a large part of Dalmatia, and notably in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, we find a number of Neo-Latin or Illyro-Roman village names with an alternative Slavonic form[b] exactly translating their meaning; and finally, in many cases, as the inhabitants forgot even the domestic use of their native Rouman, the original Latin form has altogether passed away, leaving no trace of its existence beyond its Slavonic

characters; the "Vlachs" do not seem to have had a written language. A rich "Vlach," however, being bilingual, might put up an inscription in Serbian, which was to him the language of Church and State.

[a] The Ragusans early found a more convenient Romance language in Italian. Nor is it necessary to suppose that they ever spoke a Rouman dialect in the sense that the Dalmatian highlanders spoke it. The correspondence between Ragusa and the other Dalmatian coast-cities, Cattaro, Budua, Antivari, &c. was conducted in Latin.

[b] This fact had already struck Lucius (*De regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, lib. vi. Francofurti, 1666, p. 277), who instances "*Petra*" = Sl. "*Brus*"; "*Via Carri*" = Sl. "*Colnich*"; "*Circuitus*," = Sl. "*Zavod*"; "*Calamet*" = Sl. "*Tarstenich.*" Cf. "*Cannosa*," near Ragusa, Sl. "*Trstenik.*" In the same way Vlach personal names were early translated into Slavonic equivalents, so that in Ragusan records we hear again and again of "Vlachi" with Serbian names.

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translation. This process has been, in all probability, of far more frequent occurrence in this part of Illyricum than can at present be known. It is only, for instance, by the chance that Constantine[a] refers to the earlier name of the place that we know that the name of the Herzegovinian stronghold of Blagaj is simply a translation of the Bona of formerly Romance-speaking mountaineers. Another curious revelation of the survival of ancient nomenclature in a Slavonic guise is due to the quite modern discovery of a Roman monument. In 1866 an inscription,[b] apparently of second or third-century date, was discovered in the Kerka Valley, revealing the ancient name of the rocky crest that there overhangs the stream, *Petra longa*. To the present inhabitants, who for centuries have spoken a Slavonic dialect, the crag is still known by its Roman name in a translated form, *Duga Stina*, "the long rock."

Physical types, distinctively un-Slavonic and presenting marked Albanian affinities (an Illyrian symptom), are still to be detected among the modern Canalese, Brenese, and Herzegovinian peasants, mingled with types as characteristically Slav. Their language, however, is at the present day a very pure Serbian dialect, and, taken by itself, affords us no clue to the fact, illustrated in this case by historical record, by craniological observations, and by the stray survival of local names, that their forefathers were as much or more Illyro-Roman than Slavonic. This interesting phenomenon, repeated in the case of many districts of Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro,[c] may throw a valuable light on similar

[a] *De Adm Imp.* c. 33: "*ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ βουνός ἐστι μέγας, ἔχων ἄνωθεν αὐτοῦ δύο κάστρα, τὸ Βόνα καὶ τὸ Χλούμ· ὄπισθεν δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου βουνοῦ διέρχεται ποταμὸς καλούμενος Βόνα, ὅ ἐρμηνεύεται καλόν.*" At present the castle on the peak is called Blagaj, the river which wells in full volume from its foot is still called Buna. This passage of Constantine affords valuable evidence of the existence in the tenth century of an Illyro-Roman population among the interior ranges of what is now Herzegovina. *Bona* is a characteristic Rouman name for good, clear, streams (cf. Sl. Dobravoda, &c.), and re-appears in this sense in the North Albanian Alps, where the Val Bona indicates the former presence of Romance-speaking highlanders in a glen which so far as language is concerned is at present Albanian. In the same way we find forms like *Alp'bona* in the Ladine or Romance districts of Tyrol.

[b] C. I. L. iii. 6418.

[c] The Ragusan records and old Serbian chrysobulls reveal a great extension of Rouman tribes in this part of Western Illyricum in the early Middle Ages. Amongst those in the present Herzegovina and Montenegro were the Vlachi Banjani, Nikšići, Mirilovići, Pilatovci, and the Rigiani in the mountains that overlook the ruins of Risinium. Their Alpine villages were called Cantons, in Slav. Katun, from whence the Katunska Nahia of Montenegro has its name. Like the Dokleates, the Illyrian tribe that once occupied a considerable part of the same mountain region, and of whom they were in part the Romanized descendants, they were great cheese-makers. The foundation charter of the church of St. Michael and St. Gabriel at Prizrend (1348) presents us with a number of Wallachian personal names with the Rouman suffix *-ul*, showing the Illyro-Roman survival in the ancient Dardanian province and its border-lands.

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researches regarding Britain, the conquest of which by the English presents some striking analogies with the Slavonic conquest of Illyricum. It cuts, at all events, the ground from the feet of those who, because the people of England speak a language containing few Welsh or Romano-British elements, and can trace most of their institutions to a Teutonic origin, would have us therefore believe that the earlier inhabitants of a large part of Britain were either expatriated or exterminated wholesale. The inhabitants of Southern Dalmatia, of Herzegovina, and Montenegro, are at present Serbian, not only in language but in customs, in popular traditions, in village and domestic government, and yet we have in this case irrefragable proofs that, down to a late period of the Middle Ages, a considerable proportion of them were still speaking an Illyrian variety of Romance.

Although enough has been said to explain Constantine Porphyrogenitus's derivation of the word Canali, it seems, as we have seen, to be tolerably certain that the local term owed its origin solely to the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct. The general accuracy, however, of Constantine's information as to Dalmatian matters, and the acquaintance which he shows with the prevailing physical characteristic of Canali itself, may embolden us to believe that when he seeks the etymology of the plain in the late Roman signification of *canalis* as a highway on which wheel-traffic was conducted, he may not have been without some apparent foundation for his statement. In Roman times, at all events, the district of Canali was a *canalis* in the sense in which the word is used in the Theodosian Code, and by the fourth-century Illyrian bishop. There can be no question but that the Roman road from Epitaurum to the next great Illyrian city to the south, Risinium, ran through the present Vale of Canali, emerging on the Bocche, the ancient Sinus Rhizonicus, through the Suttorina gorge, in the neighbourhood of Castelnuovo.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, so fertile in difficulties for this part of Dalmatia, makes the distance from Epitaurum to "Resinum" only twenty miles, about half the real distance. The idea that Epitaurum itself was ever situate on the Sinus Rhizonicus, and therefore nearer Risinium, I have already scouted. It only remains, therefore, to imagine either that a numerical error here occurs in the *Tabula* or that an intermediate station has been left out. Professor Tomaschek[a] accepts this latter theory, and imagines Castelnuovo to have been the site of the omitted station.

Local researches had long convinced me that a Roman station of some importance existed between Epitaurum and Risinium. Its site, however, was

[a] *Die vorslawische Topographie*, &c. p. 37.

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not Castelnuovo, where, so far as I am aware, no Roman remains have been discovered. Near the village of Gruda, about the centre of the plain of Canali, have been found Roman coins, *intagli*, fragments of pottery, and other relics; and it is a common saying among the Canalese peasants that there once existed a city at this spot. The locality where these remains are found is known to the natives as Djare, from *djara*, a jar, owing to the *amphoræ* and other vessels discovered here. A little to the east of Djare rises an isolated height capped by the small church of Sveti Ivan (St. John), a sanctuary, as the early mediæval monuments round it show, of considerable antiquity. Visiting this spot, in company with my friend Dr. von Luschan, I had the good fortune to discover, walled into the church porch and partially concealed by plaster, a Roman inscription, which, when cleared of mortar and cement, read as follows (fig. 12):

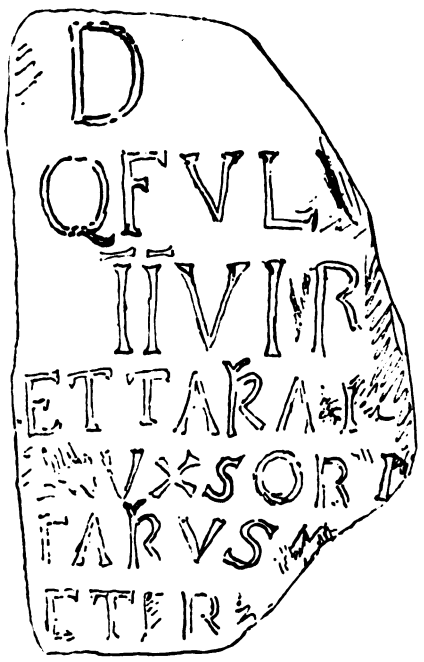


Fig 12. SVETI IVAN, CANALI, from probable site of Roman Municipium between Epitaurum and Risinium.

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D M
Q FVL*VIO* / *Filio*
II VIR *Iure Dicundo*
ET TAVRAE *MAXI*
MAE VXSORI *EIVS*
TAVRVS *MAXIMU*S
ET FR*ATRES Titulum Posuere*

Taken by itself the mention of a Duumvir Jure Dicundo, the chief municipal magistrate, on this monument raises a fair presumption that the Roman station at this spot was itself a *Municipium*, and not a mere *Vicus* of the Ager Epitauritanus. On the other hand, the course of the Epitaurian Aqueduct, across the whole extent of the plain of Canali, in the midst of which Djare and Svéti Ivan lie, certainly tends to show, as was pointed out long ago by the Ragusan historian Cervarius Tubero, that, originally at least, Canali was comprised in the territory of Epitaurum. It is to be observed that the name of a Q. Fulvius Clemens occurs among the tituli found at Ragusa Vecchia.[a]

Be this as it may, it is certain that there was a considerable Roman station in this vicinity; and the position is itself admirably adapted for a half-way post between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf. Opposite the isolated height of Svéti Ivan, on which the inscription stands, opens a pass in the mountains dividing the huge mass of Mount Sniesnica on one side from the offshoots of Mount Orien on the other. It is at the opening of this pass that the village of Mrcine is situate, already mentioned as an important Rouman centre in the Middle Ages, and above which was the ancient cemetery, also, in all probability, belonging to these descendants of the Illyro-Roman provincials. It is certain that the pass itself, which served these later representatives of Rome for their caravan traffic with the inland countries between the Adriatic and the Drina, would not have been neglected by the Romans themselves as an avenue of communication. The remains of a paved mediæval way may still be traced threading the gorge, and we have here, perhaps, the direct successor of a Roman branch line of road connecting the station, which appears to have existed at Svéti Ivan, with another Roman station, of which I hope to say more, in the valley of Trebinje.

On the other hand, there are distinct indications that Svéti Ivan lay on the direct Roman road between Epitaurum and Risinium. The old Ragusan road

[a] C. I. L. iii. 1739.

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through Canali to the Bocche di Cattaro ran past this position, and the old bridge over the Ljuta lies just below it. What, too, is extremely significant, a long line of hedges and ancient boundary lines, that originally bisected the plain, runs from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards this point. Any one who has endeavoured to trace Roman roads in Britain must be aware how often, when other traces fail, the continuous hedge lines preserve the course of the ancient Way.

The distance from Djare and Svéti Ivan to Risinium is as nearly as possible twenty miles. It is, therefore, not impossible that at this point was the station *ex hypothesi* omitted in the *Tabula*. It is probable, as I hope to show in a succeeding paper, that this was also a point of junction between the road Epitaurum-Risinium and a line communicating with the interior of the Province.

From this point the way to the Bocche runs down the Suttorina Valley, reaching the Adriatic inlet near Castelnuovo. After following the coast for some miles, the road would again strike inland, over the Bunović Pass, which forms the shortest line of communication with the inner gulf on which Risinium stood. From this point the course of the Roman road is no longer a matter for theory. Between Morinje and the western suburb of the little town of Risano that preserves the name of the Roman city its course can be distinctly traced along the limestone steep that here overhangs the sea.

The site and early history of Rhizon, or Risinium, form a marked contrast to that of Epitaurum, as, indeed, to most of the Græco-Roman sites on the Dalmatian shore. Here there is neither peninsula nor island: no natural bridge nor moat to secure the civilized colonist from the barbarism of the mainland. The peak which formed the Acropolis of Rhizon is but a lower offshoot of the greater ranges beyond. An Alpine pass, communicating with highland fastnesses as rugged and inaccessible as any to be found within the limits of Illyricum, zigzags directly into the lower town. Thus the early history of Rhizon is neither Greek nor Roman, but pre-eminently Illyrian.

In 229 B.C. Teuta, the Illyrian Pirate Queen, defeated by the Romans, took refuge at Rhizon, as her securest stronghold. From the expression of Polybios[a] that Rhizon was "a small city, strongly fortified, removed from the sea, but lying directly on the River Rhizon," some writers, including Sir Gardiner Wilkinson,[b] have endeavoured to discover its site somewhere in the mountains of

[a] "Πολισμάτιον εὖ πρὸς ὀχυρότητα κατασκευασμένον, ἀνακεχωρηκὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ κείμενον τῷ Ῥίζωνι ποταμῷ." *Polybios*, ii. 11.

[b] *Dalmatia*, vol. ii. p. 284.

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the interior. As, however, I have elsewhere shown,[a] there can be no doubt that the Rhizon of Queen Teuta is identical in site as well as in name with the later Roman colony, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, the present Bocche di Cattaro, and which still prolongs its continuity in the little town of Risano. The Rhizon Potamos of Polybios is used, in fact, as a general term for the winding, river-like fiord itself, otherwise known to ancient poets as the "Illyrian river," the chosen lurking-place of piratic craft. In its narrower local application it may be taken to signify the small torrent, the *Fiumara*, which bursts from a cave in the mountains, about half-a-mile from the head of the fiord. The name Risano, applied to two similar torrents on the East Adriatic coast, one in Istria, near Trieste, the other near Durazzo, leads us to infer that Rhizon or Risinium was an aboriginal Illyrian river-name, which, in the present case, attached itself to the town past which the torrent ran.

The remains of the old street terraces are distinctly traceable on the flanks of the peak that dominates the right bank of the torrent. It is evident that this was the ancient Acropolis, the chosen stronghold of Queen Teuta, but I have been unable to discover any remains of primeval walls, such as are to be seen on the more southern Illyrian peak stronghold of Acrolissos (Alessio). The lower town lay unquestionably on the level space between the Acropolis and the shore, to the right of the torrent. Here I have at different times excavated the foundations of houses and narrow streets lying at a depth of about ten feet beneath the present surface. I was not so fortunate, however, as to hit on the remains of any remarkable building. Foundations may also be seen, as at Ragusa Vecchia, beneath the sea, proving a slight submergence of the land within the historic period. The most important architectural relic is the remains of the eastern city-wall, to be seen in places overhanging the right bank of the torrent, which must have washed this wall of the city almost throughout its length.

The remaining fragments of this wall, built of huge oblong blocks, recall the long walls connecting Salonæ with its Piræus, a work dating in all probability from the period preceding the actual conquest, though executed under Græco-Roman influences. It is remarkable that epigraphic evidence exists, showing that, in the time of Marcus Aurelius, the inhabitants of Risinium traced back the antiquity of their walls to heroic times. At Lambæsè, in Numidia, in a shrine of the temple of Æsculapius, was discovered a votive inscription raised by a native

[a] See "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. pp. 269-302.

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of Risinium, who had risen to the position of Legate of Numidia and Consul Designate (afterwards elect), in honour of the patron divinity and "public Lar" of his native Dalmatian city. In this poetic dedication the walls of Risinium are referred to as "Æacia Mœnia," and the expression has created some difficulty. It seems to me, however, to be susceptible of a perfectly natural and probable explanation. The Epirote Princes, in right of their Thessalian connexion, had always insisted on their descent from Achilles the son of Æacus; and one at least of them appears in history as Æacides pure and simple. The connexion between the reigning families of Epirus and Southern Illyricum was intimate, and we are expressly told of King Glaucias, the Taulantian, that his wife was of the Æacid race.[a] The South Illyrian princes who succeeded him, and who, like their Epirote kinsmen, affected Greek manners, and adopted a Greek style on their coinage, would certainly not neglect this claim to Achæan descent. The *Æacia Mœnia* of the inscription would, therefore, indicate the local tradition that the walls of Risinium, this ancient stronghold of the native kings, were reared by one of these Illyrian Æacidæ.

As any account of the antiquities of Risinium would be incomplete without some reference to this remarkable inscription, I here reproduce it.[b]

"Mœnia qui Risinni Æacia qui colis arcem
Delmatiæ, nostri publice Lar populi,
Sancte Medaure domi e(t) sancte hic: nam templa quoq(ue) ista
Vise precor parva magnus in effigia.
Succussus læva sonipes (c)ui surgit in auras
Altera dum letum librat ab aure manus.
Talem te Consul jam designatus in ista
Sede locat venerans ille tuus ⏑ ⏑ ⏓
Notus Gradivo belli vetus ac tibi Cæsar
Marce, in primore clarus ubique acie."

"Adepto Consulatu ⏓ ⏑ ⏓ ⏑ ⏓
Tibi respirantem faciem patrii numinis
Hastam eminus quæ jaculat refreno ex equo
Tuus, Medaure. dedicat Medaurius"

The continuance of the cult of Medaurus, the Illyrian Lar of Risinium, in

[a] Justinus, lib. xvii. 3: "(Pyrrhus) defertur in Illyrios et traditus est Beroæ uxori regis Glauciæ quæ et ipsa erat generis Æacidarum."

[b] As edited by Mommsen in C. I. L. iii. p. 285.

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Roman Imperial times, is itself a proof of the strength of the indigenous element at this spot. The excavations and researches made by me on the site of the ancient city have brought to light abundant evidence of the importance of Risinium as an Illyrian staple and royal residence before the days of the Roman conquest. This evidence, which is almost exclusively derived from Illyrian coins, discovered in abundance on this site, has formed the subject of a communication by me to the Numismatic Society, so that I may here content myself with summarising the results at which I was enabled to arrive.[a]

In the numismatic history of the Illyrian city two periods are to be noticed; the first during which the Rhizonian mint was under Greek influence, and the later period, during which Roman influence predominated. The coins are of three main varieties:—

1. Autonomous coins, struck in the name of the city, with the legend PIZO, or PIZONITAN, showing that here, as at Lissos (Alessio) and Scodra (Scutari d'Albania), there was a Republican period in the history of the city: in all probability the period immediately succeeding the break-up of the Illyrian kingdom of Genthios by the Romans in 167 B.C.
2. Coins of an Illyrian Prince Ballæos, unknown to history, but who possessed another prolific mint in the Isle of Pharos (Lesina). It is probable that this prince reigned in the second half of the second century B.C. and that his dominion represents a revival of the old Ardiæan dynasty. These coins have Greek legends, like those of Genthios.
3. Coins of one or more successors of Ballæos, some with the legend MYN. In the figure of Artemis, on the reverse, these coins resemble those of Ballæos, but the obverse presents us with heads imitated from the Pallas, Libertas, and Virtus on Roman consular *denarii*.

The general conclusion which we are enabled to draw from these coins is, that Rhizon, or Risinium, remained in a position of independence or quasi-independence of Rome, at least under the government of native princes, at a period when large tracts of the Illyrian coast both north and south of this point had been placed under direct Roman government. We are, in fact, informed by Livy[b] that, as a reward for their timely defection from King Genthios, the inhabitants

[a] See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. p. 269 *seqq.*

[b] Lib. xlv. c. 26.

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of Rhizon and Olcinium, with the Pirustæ and others, were not only left free to govern themselves but were exempted from all tribute.

Among the coins of præ-Roman date found at Risano silver pieces of Corinth, Dyrrhachium, and Apollonia, are of comparatively frequent occurrence, and I have obtained one of the Pæonian King Lykkeios. But the extraordinary feature of this site is its inexhaustible fertility in the small brass pieces of the native King Ballæos and his successors. Considering that these coins themselves occasionally attain to a fair art level, that the inscriptions are in Greek, and that they are universally associated with fragments and remains that are undoubted products of Greek and Roman civilization, we are justified in inferring that already in Illyrian days Rhizon was beginning to present many of the external features of a civilized city. The historians of Greece and Rome, from whom all our written knowledge of the Illyrian coast-lands in their yet unconquered days is due, naturally lay stress on the piratic and barbarous side of Illyrian life. But the indigenous coinage existing at Rhizon, Scodra, Lissos, and the Isle of Pharos, and even among the mainland tribe of the Daorsi, is itself a proof that more commercial instincts were developing among the aborigines of the Adriatic coast. The ancient trade route between Greece and the lands at the head of the Adriatic could not have been without its civilising influence on the inhabitants of the littoral, and there is strong presumptive evidence that Phœnician, Pontic, and Etruscan merchants frequented the Illyrian havens in still earlier days. This Phœnician contact has left its trace in the persistent repetition by Greek writers of legends connecting Cadmus and his consort with the Illyrian towns, and in a special way with Rhizon itself. That coins of the Illyrian king Genthios have been found in Sicily tends to prove that his dominion had a mercantile as well as a piratic side, and this drunken barbarian, as he is described by Polybios and Livy, has deserved well of medical science by bringing into use the herb *Gentian*, that still preserves his name.[a] Nor are there wanting ancient writers who have passed a more favourable verdict on the inhabitants of the Illyrian coast. We read of their cities, of their regular government, now under chieftains, now under kings, now autonomous in its constitution, and Scymnos adds, that "they are very pious, just, and given to hospitality, that they respect the ties of social life, and

[a] Pliny, *H. N.* lib. xxv. 34: "Gentianam invenit Gentius rex Illyriorum, ubique nascentem, in Illyrico tamen præstantissimam."

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live in an orderly manner."[a] The splendid booty collected by Anicius on the capture of King Genthios in his royal city of Scodra renders it tolerably certain that King Ballæos and his successors at Rhizon knew how to surround their court with the luxuries of civilisation, and a silver coin of this prince in the British Museum, in all probability coined in his Rhizonian mint, proves that on occasion he could employ Hellenic workmen.

The history of the Illyrian mint at Rhizon, as illustrated by the coins, undoubtedly reflects the general course of civilisation in the Illyrian city. During the period marked by the autonomous coins and the coins of King Ballæos, the external culture introduced was Greek so far as it went, and the numerous coins of Greek cities found on this site evidence considerable mercantile intercourse with Hellas. The semi-Roman character of the coins of Ballæos's successor, taken in connexion with the presence of numerous consular *denarii*, tends to show that towards the end of the second century B.C. Roman commercial enterprise, following in the wake of political supremacy, was supplanting the old Greek connexion with this part of the Adriatic coast.

Greek inscriptions have been found at Risano,[b] one or two of præ-Roman date, but the greater part of the remains found at Risano belong rather to the later period, when Roman influences preponderated. Among the pottery however obtained from this site I have one good example of Greek fictile art. It is an *askos* of reddish brown and yellow ware, of that peculiar form that seems to be characteristic of Magna Græcia, and which certainly bears a greater resemblance to a small china teapot than a "bladder." (See Pl. II.) On its upper surface is stamped a medallion containing a highly artistic Faun's head, with pointed ears pricked, and flowing locks. The funnel-shaped opening of the spout is unfortunately broken off. It is difficult to understand for what use this kind of vessel may have served.

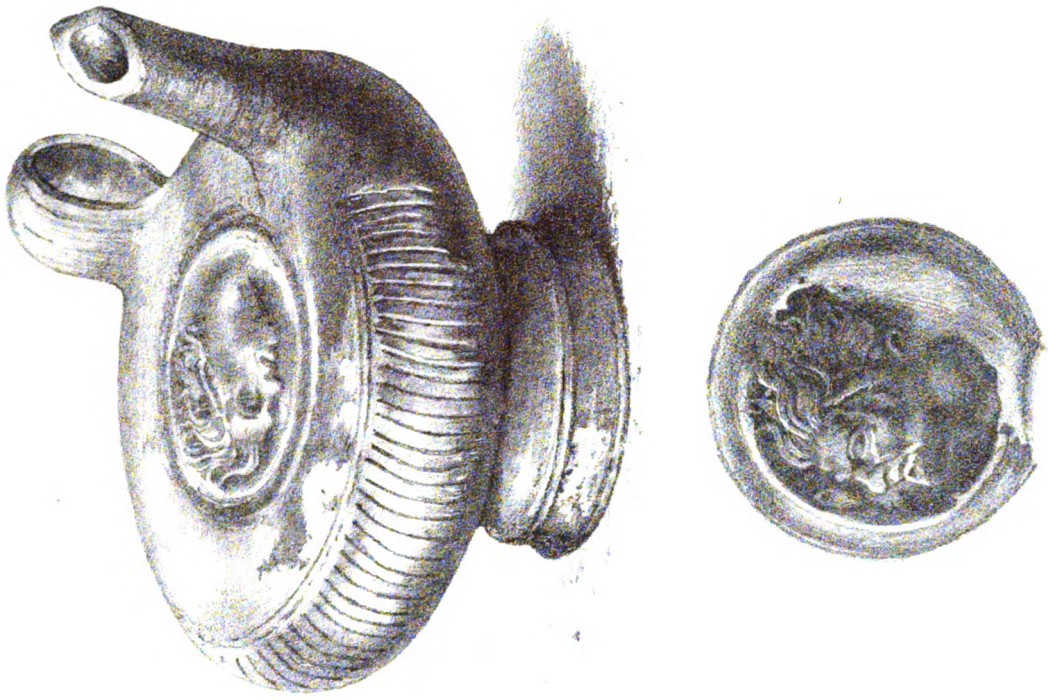
[a] V. 420 *seqq.*

> "Καί τινα μὲν αὐτῶν βουλικαῖς ἐξουσίαις
> ὑπήκο' εἶναι, τινὰ δὲ καὶ μοναρχίαις,
> ἃ δ' αὐτονομεῖσθαι· θεοσεβεῖς δ' αὐτοὺς ἄγαν
> καὶ σφόδρα δικαίους, φασί, καὶ φιλοξένους,
> κοινωνικὴν διάθεσιν ἠγαπηκότας
> εἶναι, βίον ζηλοῦν τε κοσμιώτατον."

His words have a special reference to the south Dalmatian coast, as he places opposite the region of these civilized mainlanders the Greek island colonies of Pharos (Lesina) and Corcyra Nigra (Curzola).

[b] Cf. G. Gelchich, *Memorie storiche sulle Bocche di Cattaro*, pp. 10, 11, and Ljubić, *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arkeologičkoga Družtva*, an. iii. p. 52. Most of these have been transported to Perasto.

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ASKOS, FROM SALONÆ.
(FULL SIZE)
See p 44



SACRIFICIAL KNIFE, FROM NARONA.
(FULL SIZE)
See p 77.

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, BY A.J. EVANS F.S.A.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1883

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UNIV. OF MICH.

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The expanding mouth of the spout seems to preclude the idea that it was used for filling lamps, and the fact that it has no other orifice but the spout must have prevented free flow from it for any purpose. Possibly it served for letting the oil drip in the process of anointing. This vase was found at Carine, on the western part of the ancient site, by a peasant digging in his vineyard. In the same grave, for so he described to me the place in which it lay, were a patera and another vase which has lost its handles, but which also bears a Magna Græcian character.

It is noteworthy that at the present day the East Adriatic ports obtain their pottery almost exclusively from the Apulian coast, and the modern potters of the Terra d'Otranto are thus only keeping up a connexion begun, as these Risinian relics prove, in days before the Roman conquest of Illyricum. Compared with the handiwork of the ancient artists of Uria and Lupiæ the modern crockery is rude, but in some of the forms a distinct Hellenic tradition is perceptible, and amphoras, especially, of singularly old Greek aspect are still to be seen exposed for sale on the quay of modern Risano.

The *askos* and vase described belong to the latest præ-Roman period of Greek art. There is, however, evidence that Greek mercantile enterprise was supplying the Illyrian aborigines with earthenware, and that from a more remote quarter, at a considerably earlier period. Theopompos[a] of Chios, who wrote in the fourth century B.C. and who ought certainly to be an authority on matters that relate to the wares of his own island, informs us that Thasian and Chian pottery was found in the Naron, the next river-inlet on the Illyrian coast beyond the "Rhizonic gulf." This notice is supplemented by a passage in the pseudo-Aristotelian work, "On Wondrous Reports,"[b] in which the author of that work states that between Mentoricé and Istria is a mountain called Delphion, "from the peak of which the Mentores who inhabit the Adriatic coast are said to see ships sailing on the Pontic Sea," and that "in the intervening space is a common market where merchants coming from Pontus sell the wares of Lesbos, Chios, and Thasos, and others coming from the Adriatic coast sell Corcyræan amphoras."[c] Apart from

[a] *Fr.* 140. Theopompos imagines that the vases must have reached the Naron by some underground river course forming a connexion between the Adriatic and the Ægean. Strabo, to whom the preservation of this notice is due, is justly sceptical as to the geological deduction of Theopompos: "Καὶ ἄλλα δ' οὐ πιστὰ λέγει· τό τε συντετρῆσθαι τὰ πελάγη ἀπὸ τοῦ εὑρίσκεσθαι κεραμόν τε Θάσιον καὶ Χῖον ἐν τῷ Νάρονι." (vii. p. 488.)

[b] Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων, c. civ.

[c] "εἶναι δὲ καί τινα τόπον ἐν τοῖς ἀνὰ μέσον διαστήμασιν εἰς ὃν ἀγορᾶς κοινῆς γενομένης πωλεῖσθαι παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἐμπόρων ἀναβαινόντων τὰ Λέσβια καὶ Χῖα, καὶ Θάσια, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδρίου τοὺς Κερκυραϊκοὺς ἀμφορεῖς."

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the geographical absurdity of Pontus being visible from a mountain near the Adriatic coast, there can be little doubt that this notice, containing as it does an allusion to the old Danubian trade-route between the Euxine and the head of the Adriatic, is true so far as it relates to the importation of Greek wares and pottery to some native market on the Illyrian coast, in all probability either Rhizon itself or the old Illyrian staple of the Narenta. In the Greek insular settlements in these waters at Issa, Black Corcyra, Pharos, and elsewhere, there was naturally a demand for such wares, and fine Greek vases and οἰνοχόαι have been found at Lissa[a] and elsewhere. It is reasonable to suppose that a part of these imported wares found its way to the native markets of the mainland, and it would even appear that the fictile works of the native potters were, at an early period, rudely imitated from Greek models, though without their colouring and ornament. On a fragment of a cup discovered by me in a pre-historic stone-barrow in Canali, an account of the excavation of which I hope on some future occasion to communicate to this Society, and which dated apparently from the later period of the Illyrian bronze age, Hellenic influence appears to be distinctly traceable.

That in Roman times the suburbs of the city embraced a considerable area is shown by the fact that the foundations of houses, including a mosaic pavement, are to be seen about half-an-hour up the mountainous steep on the East and near a delicious fountain. The sepulchral remains lie for the most part either at Carine or in a campagna to the left of the Risano Fiumara. I copied the following,[b] (v. figs. 13—17) not contained in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* or *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

The name Plætoria or Plætorius, as it appears to occur on another Risinian inscription,[c] with its variant forms Plætor, Plator, and Pletor, is a Latinization of one of the most characteristic Illyrian names,[d] and derives special interest from

[a] Cf. Glavinich, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central Commission*, 1878, xcii. In the museum at Ragusa is a Greek painted vase said to have been found on the site of Epitaurum.

[b] Since I took down these inscriptions copies of figs. 13, 14, 15, and 17 have been sent to the Croatian Archæological Society, and are given by Dr. Ljubić in *Viestnik* (an. i. p. 127; an. ii. p. 101), where my excavations are referred to. The examples in the *Viestnik* will be found to differ in some small details from mine, and do not represent the original lettering. Figs. 14 and 16 are at present in the Casa Mišetić. Fig. 13 was found in the *campagna* of Paprenica. Fig. 15 is from the left bank of the Fiumara; I have since deposited this stone in the museum at Ragusa.

[c] C. I. L. iii. 1730, as completed by Mommsen.

[d] Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2751, 2752, 2773, 2788, among inscriptions found at Verlikka and S. Danillo in Dalmatia; 3144 in the Isle of Cherso; 3804, 3825, at Igg near Laibach, here in a Celtic connexion:—"VOLTREX PLAETORIS"; in a Privilegium (C. I. L. iii. D. vii.) granted by Vespasian—PLATORI . VENETI . F . CENTVRIONI . MAEZEIO; at Apulum and Alburnus Major (VICVS PIRVSTARVM) in Dacia where was a large Illyrian mining colony (1192, 1271.)

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Fig. 13.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 14.

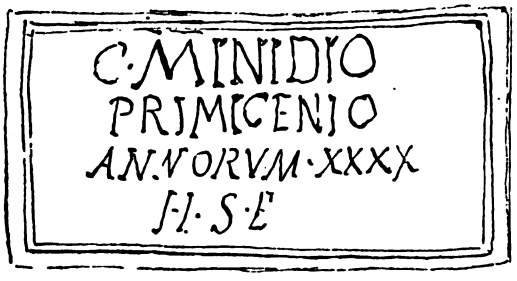


Fig. 16.

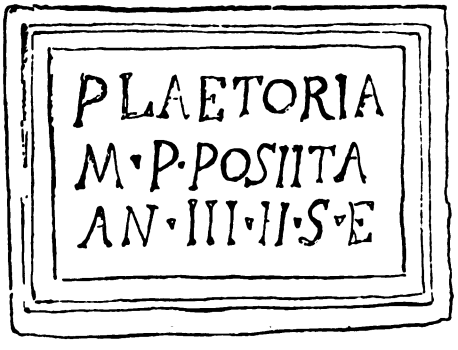


Fig. 17.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM RISINIUM (RISANO).

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its reappearance among the Messapians[a] of the opposite Italian coast, the Illyrian affinities of whom are undoubted. The occurrence of this and other indigenous names on Risinian monuments, taken in connexion with the abiding cult of the native Lar, show that the Illyrian element continued to hold its own in the Roman city; and I may observe that the modern Risanotes, though at present entirely of Slavonic speech, must ethnologically be classed with the Albanian descendants of these same Illyrians. The finely-modelled head, the aquiline nose, such as King Ballæos displays on his Rhizonian coins, the "stricti artus, minax vultus," recall at once the Illyrian aborigines of ancient writers and the modern Skipetar. Meanwhile the Risanote tales about Queen Teuta or Czaritza Tiuda, as they call her, may be safely placed in the same category with the Ragusa-Vecchian traditions of Dolabella and Cadmus.

The Roman city appears to have drawn its water supply direct from the cavern from which the Risano Fiumara issues. On the right bank of the stream I found the channel of an aqueduct, resembling that of Epitaurum, hewn out of the solid rock. This channel leads into the vast atrium of the cavern, the floors and walls of which have been hewn out apparently to form a large reservoir. There can be no doubt that in ancient times this was filled with water, and that the supply of water was considerably greater than it is now. At present in summer the bed of the Fiumara is almost dried up, and the aqueduct would be useless even in the rainy season. That the character of the source should have altered will surprise no one who has observed the vagaries of streams and sources in a limestone country; and its diminished volume may be connected with the continued deforesting of the Dalmatian coasts during the last two thousand years, which here, as in Greece, has contributed to decrease the rainfall. The cavern is still, however, a considerable reservoir. Following it by an easy descent of about one hundred yards into the mountain you arrive at the brink of a subterranean pool of unknown dimensions. In Roman days the summer level of this pool must have reached the excavated chamber in the mouth of the cavern, from which the channel of the aqueduct issues. The Slavonic-speaking natives, having wholly forgotten its former application and origin, regard the rock-hewn channel as of supernatural creation, and call it "Vilin Put," "the Fairies' Way."

[a] Cf. inscriptions found at Capo di Leuca, Πλατορας Παλεταος Ισαρετι, and at Ceglie beginning ΓΑΑΤΟΡΑΣ, given in Mommsen, *Die unteritalienischen Dialekte*, p. 51. The plebeian family name Plætoria at Rome was derived from this source.

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Engraved gems are not so abundant on this site as on that of Epitaurum, where Græco-Roman culture was less alloyed with indigenous barbarism. I have, however, procured four or five; and a fine gold ring set with an onyx engraved with a lion, recently discovered here, was presented by the Commune of Risano as a baptismal gift to the second son of Prince Nikola of Montenegro.[a] One *intaglio*, a pale sard from this site, in my own possession, is remarkable as presenting an unique Roman-Christian composition (fig. 18). On it is seen the Good Shepherd, not in the usual attitude, but holding forth what appears to be intended for the typical lamb, which he has lowered from his shoulders.[b] Before him stands a ram, while to the left is a tall amphora-like jar, probably meant to represent one of the water-pots of Cana of Galilee. Above is seen the Christian monogram, and another symbol consisting of three upright strokes crossed by one transverse.



Fig. 18. ROMAN-CHRISTIAN INTAGLIO FROM RISINIUM. (Enlarged.)

As late as the end of the sixth century the Christian Church of Risinium seems to have been still flourishing and important. Two letters are extant addressed by Pope Gregory the Great to Sebastian, Bishop of Risinium, one of 591 and the other of 595 A.D.[c] In the latter of these Gregory speaks of "*dulcissima et suavissima fraternitatis tuæ verba*," but laments at the same time the evil which he suffers from Sebastian's friend, Romanus, Exarch of Ravenna, to whose government Risinium with the other Dalmatian coast-cities then belonged, and whose malice towards the representative of St. Peter cut sharper in Gregory's opinion than the swords of the Lombards.[d] The next mention of a Bishop of Risinium occurs after an interval of seven hundred years.

Of a date still later than the Christian intaglio, and by far the most beautiful object, to my knowledge, discovered at Risano, is a gold pendant, inlaid on either side with cloisonné enamel, dug up in a *campagna* at Carina in 1878 by a man whom

[a] Amongst other objects of Roman jewelry obtained by myself from this site may be mentioned a part of a gold earring terminating in a lion's head, and two spiral snake bracelets of silver, much resembling a kind of bangle which has lately again become fashionable.

[b] On another Christian gem, obtained by me at Salona, the Good Shepherd stands at the side of a group of sheep and goats beneath a palm tree. The material is green jasper.

[c] Given in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. vi. pp. 411, 412. The letters are headed "Gregorius Sebastiano Episcopo Rhiziniensi."

[d] "Quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit."

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I had employed to make excavations (fig. 19). It presents on one side a crested beast of grotesque and mythical aspect, with a projecting tongue, the colours of

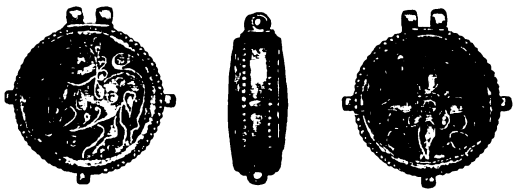


Fig. 19. GOLD ENAMELLED PENDANT, CARINA, 1878.

the animal being green, yellow, red, and bluish white on a dark blue ground. On the other side is a conventional rose, with dark blue and yellow petals, and red centre on a green ground. This rose, which has much in common with the familiar rose of heraldry, is of a form frequent on Roman mosaics, and not least upon those that adorn the walls of Roman-Christian basilicas. The four round excrescences attached to the broader petals may be regarded as singular, otherwise there is nothing in the design on this side alien to the Roman art of the Western Empire to which Risinium in Justinian's time belonged. So far as the colours go they recall with singular fidelity the predominant tints in the mosaics of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, of the church S. Apollinare Nuovo and other Ravennate monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries. The sombre blue and green ground in mosaic work, at least, is more distinctive of Western than of pure Byzantine traditions.

The quasi-heraldic animal on the other side of the pendant is suggestive at once of Oriental influences. It bears a strong family likeness to the griffins, winged lions, and other fabulous monsters, on some remarkable vessels found at Szent Miklos, in the district of Torontal, in Hungary, in 1799, and which are now among the treasures of the Antiken Cabinet at Vienna.[a] Among the points in which the animal on the Risano pendant bears a special resemblance to some of those of the Torontal hoard may be signalised the character of the head and eye, the drop-shaped spots or stripes on the body, and the attitude of the legs and tail. On the other hand, the crest or mane is of a more cocks-comb-like form; the wings with which most of the Torontal monsters are equipped, as

[a] See Von Arneth, *Monumente des k. k. Münz und Antiken Cabinettes*, Wien, 1850, Pl. G. IV., G. V., G. XIV. &c.

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well as their arabesque appendages, are wanting, and the general elegance and spirit of the design is considerably diminished.

The Torontal objects are unquestionably of Persian origin;[a] the mythic representations that occur on them are thoroughly Oriental, and the monsters represented are the true forerunners of the Mahometan *Borrak*, of which fabulous animal we learn that it had a mane of pearls and jacinths, that its ears were as emeralds, and its eyes as rubies. The form of the Torontal gold vessels is also characteristically Persian, much resembling the cups which every Persian hangs at his saddle-bow when he goes out riding. Von Arneth considers them to be of fifth-century workmanship, though they bear inscriptions of later date. One of these, in Greek characters, seems to be a line of a Byzantine missionary hymn. Another gives the names of two chiefs, apparently of Bela, Župan of the Theiss, and Butaul, Župan of the Jazyges, a people, be it observed, of Medo-Sarmatian stock.[b]

The Risano pendant may therefore be taken as illustrating the influence of these fifth-century Persian models on late Roman and Byzantine art, an influence which, from this time onwards, becomes more and more perceptible. No example of any perfectly analogous jewel has come under my observation; there is, however, one feature besides the general character of the enamel and goldwork, which it shares with some other ornaments of Byzantine date. The outer rim is provided with a groove and five loops—three below and two above. The use to which these were applied is shown by an earring in the British Museum, with similar groove and loops, to which a circlet of pearls—strung on a golden wire—is still attached. Two other Byzantine earrings, in the Burges Collection, enriched on one side with that well-known Christian emblem, a pair of doves, enamelled, in one case, on a gold field, and dating probably from the seventh century, show an arrangement of the same kind.

Taking into consideration on the one hand this Byzantine feature in the form, and, on the other hand, the distinct reflection in the design of Persian models, the introduction of which into the Illyrian provinces was probably not unconnected with the great Hunnish irruption of the fifth century, we cannot greatly

[a] An account of the Torontal treasure will be found in Von Arneth, *op. cit.* p. 20 *seqq.*

[b] This inscription reads: ΒΟΥΗΛΑ · ΖΟΑΠΑΝ · ΤΕΣΗ · ΔΥΓΕΤΟΙΓΗ · ΒΟΥΤΑΟΥΛ · ΖΩΑΠΑΝ · ΤΑΓΡΟΓΗ · ΗΤΖΙΓΗ · ΤΑΙΣΗ. Von Hammer (*Osmanische Geschichte*, iii. 726) compares ΤΑΓΡΟΓΗ · ΠΤΖΙΓΗ with Δακριγοὶ Ἰάζυγες, a tribe of Jazyges mentioned by Dion (lxxi. 12). The Tagri are mentioned by Ptolemy (iii. c. 5). The inscription is cited by Šafarik (*Slawische Alterthümer*, i. 345) as a monument of the early connexion of Slavs and Sarmatians. ΖΟΑΠΑΝ cannot be other than the Slav *Župan*, the governor of the *Župa* or Mark.

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err in assigning the present work to the period of comparative peace and prosperity that dawned on Dalmatia in the first half of the sixth century. Of later date than the sixth century it cannot well be, as Roman Risinium itself was utterly wiped out some time in the first half of the next century by a barbarous horde of Slavs and Avars. The early part of the century that preceded this awful overthrow—which Risinium shared with its sister cities, Epitaurum and Salonæ—was marked in Dalmatia, as in Italy, by the beneficent Ostrogothic dominion. The Dalmatian cities gained a new lease of life, and the relative abundance of Ostrogothic coins on these Trans-Adriatic sites is itself a tangible proof of their prosperity. On the recovery of Dalmatia by Justinian's generals, the Roman cities of its coast ranked among the most valuable possessions of his Exarchs at Ravenna, and the Province was then reckoned "the stronghold of the West." There can be no good reason for doubting that the Risano jewel was of Dalmatian, perhaps of local Risinian, manufacture; indeed, its somewhat heavy Occidental aspect, coupled with the purely Roman form of the rose, associated as they yet are with undoubtedly Oriental features, render the work peculiarly appropriate to the character of a Province which formed the borderland between the Eastern and Western Worlds.

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II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ. EPITAURUM, SCODRA.

SYNOPSIS.

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II.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES,—SISCIA, SALONÆ, EPITAURUM, SCODRA.

Two lines of communication between the Dalmatian capital, Salonæ and the great Pannonian city, Siscia, are indicated by the *Tabula* and *Itinerarium Antonini*. One ran through Æquum, near Sinj, and thence by an obscure route across what is now North-West Bosnia, to Servitium, identified with Gradiska, on the Save, where it met the important valley line connecting Siscia and Sirmium. The other, followed the Via Gabiniana to Promona, marked by the abiding name of the mountain, Promina. Thence it proceeded to Burnum, identified by the extensive ruins near Kistanje, known, from the still-standing portion of a Roman triumphal arch, as *Archi Romani*,—to the Morlach natives as the "Hollow Church" or "Trajan's Castle,"—an account of which was communicated to this Society,[a] in 1775, by John Strange, Esq. from information supplied by the Abbé Fortis. From Burnum the road crossed the steeps of the Velebić range into the ancient Iapygia, at present the Lika district of Croatia. At a point called Bivium it divided into two branches, one running to the port of Senia, the modern Zengg, the other, traversing what is now the Kraina, to Siscia, past the station of Ad Fines, which has been recently identified with the hot springs of Topusko[b] in the valley of the Glina.

Taking Burnum as a fixed point, Professor Mommsen has identified the next station, thirteen miles distant on the route, Hadre, with the village of Medvidje, where Roman inscriptions have been discovered, and to which the traces of a Roman road from Burnum certainly conduct. Were this identification to be accepted, it would follow that the Roman route from the Liburnian district of Dalmatia into the Japygian interior approximately coincides with the course of the present highway which winds up the steeps of Velebich from the Dalmatian town of Obbrovazzo, and descends into what has been not inaptly called the Croatian Siberia at the little village of St. Roch. Near here, at St. Michael, and

[a] *Archaeologia*, vol. iii. p. 346.

[b] Prof. Ljubić in *Viestnik hrvatskoga Arkeologičkoga Družtva*, 1880, No. 1.

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again at Ploča, Roman inscriptions[a] have been discovered, and it is in this district accordingly that Professor Mommsen places the site of Ausancalio, marked on the *Tabula* as 29 miles distant from Hadre.

On the other hand, it may be urged that the natural pass into the Lika district from Kistanje, the site of Burnum, lies rather up the Zermanja valley and past Mala Popina to Gračac. A good road runs through its whole extent, and this is the route which a native would undoubtedly take at the present day. In this case the site of Hadre would have to be sought in the Zermanja valley, somewhere near the mediæval ruins of Zvonigrad. The next station, "Clambetis," 13 miles distant, would lie in the neighbourhood of Gračac, where, at Omšica, a fragment of a Roman inscription has been discovered, and the succeeding station, Ausancalio, 16 miles further, should be sought at Udbina, to which place a natural route, of about the requisite length, conducts us from the plain of Gračac.[b]

Two Roman inscriptions from Udbina are already known. I am now enabled to describe another, which remarkably corroborates the view that here, rather than at St. Michael, is to be sought the ancient Ausancalio (fig. 1[a]). The inscription itself had been transported from Udbina to the neighbouring town of Lapac,

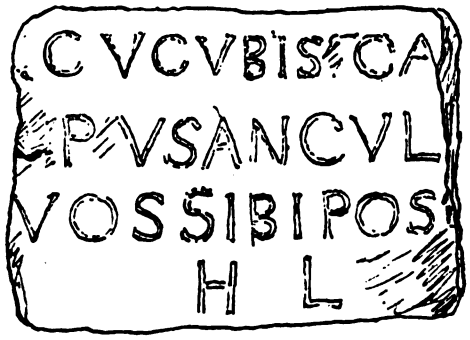


Fig. 1[a]. Inscription referring to the Municipium of Ausancalio.
Found at Udbina.

[a] C. I. L. iii. 2992, 2995.

[b] This is far from denying that there was an alternative road from Liburnia into Japygia by way of the Municipium that apparently occupied the site of the present Obbrovazzo. It stands to reason indeed that this line of communication was known to and used by the Romans. All that I have been maintaining is, that the natural route from *Burnum* towards Siscia and Senia would run through the easier pass of the Zermanja. I am, personally, well acquainted with both routes.

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where I saw it in the out-house of a local eccentric called Omčikus, who had collected a variety of antiquities and other miscellaneous objects under his roof, amongst which he lived, in what he was pleased to call a state of nature.

The two penultimate lines may, perhaps, be completed:—

MVNICIP . AVSANCVLION . || VIVOS SIBI POSVIT

The preceding word must be regarded as uncertain, but the reference to the name *Ausancalio*, here *Ausanculio*, is clear.[a]

The long plain of Corbavia (Krbava), extending from Udbina to the north-west, would afford an admirable avenue for the continuation of the Roman road. The position of Bunić, 15 miles distant, at the other extremity of this plain, would answer to the succeeding station Ancus, which, as we may infer from its containing an element common to Aus*anca*lio or Aus*ancu*lio, must have stood in some obvious geographical opposition to the latter. So in Southern Dalmatia we find a *Derva* and an An*derva*.



Fig. 2[a]. Fragments of Inscription. Lower Lapac.

From Udbina a road leads eastward, over the wild and romantic forest-mountain known as the Kuk Planina, to the fertile plain of Lapac. Here, in the lower village of that name, and in the same locality as the last, I copied the following Roman inscription, found on the spot (fig. 2[a]). The inscription was, unfortunately, in a fragmentary condition, the lower portion being detached from the rest.

The mention of the IIVIRI IVRE DICVNDO is an indication that a Roman Municipium existed on the site, or in the immediate neighbourhood, of Lapac. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, those I saw being mostly of fourth-century date, and from the Siscian and Aquilejan mints. From the same site I obtained a Gnostic gem of green jasper, and of remarkably good workmanship, presenting the legend IAO ADONIS ABRAXAS.

[a] A copy of this inscription was sent by its present possessor to Dr. Kukuljević, and has been communicated by him to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (vol. iii. n. 570). The version given there, however, is misleading.

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Beyond Lapac, to the East and South-East, on the other side of what till lately was the Turkish frontier, stretches the rugged Alpine district of the Upper Kraina, watered by the Unna and its tributary the Unnac, which is one of the wildest and least-explored districts in the whole of Bosnia. During the recent troubled years its inaccessible glens formed the strongholds of rayah insurgency against the Ottoman; and the wholesale exodus of the Christian population from the Turkish districts filled the limestone caverns and rock shelters, which abound throughout the region, with a new race of cave-dwellers. In the heart of this region, archæologically speaking a *terra incognita*, but which I had occasion to traverse throughout the greater part of its extent, I discovered interesting traces of mediæval and Roman civilization. At Preodac, Vissuća and elsewhere are considerable remains of feudal castles, dating from the days of the Bosnian kingdom. At Upper Unnac are the remains of an ancient church, surrounded by the huge sepulchral blocks usually found in mediæval Bosnian graveyards; while lower down the valley are interesting ruins of a tower and an ancient minster, whose name, Ermanja, would lead us to connect them with Hermann of Cilli. But the most remarkable feature of the district is the trace of an ancient paved way. The whole country-side abounds in legends connected with this ancient way, which perpetuate in an extraordinary manner the memory of an historical event which occurred in this part of the world in the thirteenth century. A contemporary writer, Thomas the Archdeacon of Spalato,[a] informs us with the vividness of an eye-witness, how on the occasion of the great Tatar invasion of Hungary of 1241 King Bela fled from Agram with his queen, Maria Lascaris, the shattered relics of his chivalry, and his royal treasures, across the Dinaric ranges to his maritime Dalmatian stronghold of Spalato, the mediæval successor of Salonæ. The Tatar Khagan, we are told, Utegai, the son of the terrible Genghis Khan, or rather the Khagan's general, pursued King Bela, to quote the Archdeacon's words, "with a furious host across the mountains, flying rather than marching, scaling the most inaccessible heights,"[b] till he finally swept down on the Dalmatian littoral, there to dash his forces in vain against the walls of the coast-cities, and to see his horse-flesh waste away on the Dalmatian rocks. It is said that the

[a] *Historia Salonitana*, c. xxxix.: "Rex relictis stationibus Zagrabiensium partium cum omni comitatu suo ad mare descendit . . . Rex vero et totus flos reliquorum Ungarorum ad Spalati partes devenit." Later he retreats to Traü, "cum uxore sua et cum omnibus gazis suis."

[b] "Venit autem non quasi iter faciens sed quasi per aerem volans loca invia et montes asperrimos supergrediens unde numquam exercitus ambulavit." *Op. cit.* c. xl.

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names of Monte Tartaro, near Sebenico, and of Kraljazza, or the King's island, whither King Bela transported his treasures, still perpetuate the memory of the great Tatar invasion and the royal flight on the Adriatic coast. In the Unnac district the record of the Tatar invasion and of King Bela's escape has been even more distinctly preserved, although in some cases partly confounded with the later flight of the last King of Bosnia from the Turks, which found its tragic termination in the field of Bilaj, on the borders of the same district. So deeply had this earlier episode of the terrible Mongol inroad impressed itself on the imagination of the inhabitants, that not even the Turkish conquest has been able to efface its record among the Kraina peasants. Without entering into details on the present occasion, I may here briefly relate the legend as it was told to me by the inhabitants.

"When the Tatars invaded Bosnia, the King, Bela, took refuge in his stronghold, the Starigrad of Bravsko, that lies on the forest-mountain of Germeć.[a] There he sate with his family, and his nobles, and his treasures; but when the Tatars came nearer he resolved to fly once more, leaving only his daughter behind him, who for her tarrying was transformed into a dragon, to guard his hoards. And there, above Bravsko, is a walled enclosure, still known as Kraljevo Torine, or the King's Yard; and there is a fountain called the King's fountain. But the King fled with the Queen and the rest of his family, and part of his treasure, to the South, into Dalmatia, and as he went he laid down a road wherever he passed, and placed milestones along it, round in shape and five feet above ground, and five feet under the earth. And these milestones are to be seen to this day along the King's road from Bravsko onwards to Resanovce."

Such is the legend in its main outline. The road itself runs from Bravsko to Crljevica and crosses the Unnac near the village of Drvar, from which point I have myself traced it to Resanovce and thence in the direction of the Tiškovac Valley. At Resanovce I was pointed out a square pillar about eight feet high now in the churchyard, but which was said to have been transported from the "King's Way." A spring further along the road is still known as "Mramor," from the "Marble Stone" that is said to have existed there. Although I was not fortunate enough to find any of these milliary columns *in situ*, it is certain

[a] The name Germeć covers a greater area to the South-East than that assigned to it in the Austrian *General-Stabs Karte.*

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that more than one was to be seen within the memory of man. The description of their deftly-rounded form, of their deep socketing in the earth, which I had from more than one native, leaves no doubt in my mind that they were of Roman origin, and that this now forgotten route by which King Bela fled represents a section of an important line of Roman road bringing the Dalmatian coast-cities into communication with the Save Valley and the great cities of Siscia and Sirmium. In all probability it forms part of the line already mentioned at the beginning of this paper leading from Salonæ viâ Æquum to Servitium, the course of which on the Dalmatian side has never yet been satisfactorily traced. From Bravsko, a road, which is in fact the continuation of the "King's Way," leads down to Kliuč, the ancient "Key-fortress" of the Upper Sana. We are thus brought within a stage of Dobrinja, the village to which Dr. Blau[a] traced a Roman way leading from Gradiska, the site of Servitium, on the Save, past Banjaluka, where the hot springs still well up, as at Novipazar, under a late Roman cupola, and thence across the ranges which form the water-shed between the Verbas and the Sana. The line followed by Dr. Blau was identified by him with every appearance of probability with the northern end of the Roman road connecting Salonæ with Servitium and the great Pannonian cities. He, himself, looked for its continuation from Dobrinja in a more southerly direction, on the strength of a hearsay account of an old Kalderym, or paved way, running from Han Podražnica (where he seeks the ancient *Leusaba*), in that direction. Dr. Blau, however, himself acknowledges the absence of ancient remains about Podražnica,[b] while on the other hand he mentions the existence of two marble sarcophagi,

[a] *Monatsbericht der k. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1867, p. 741 *seqq.* Cf. *La Via romana da Sirmio a Salona* (in *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata*, 1882, p. 69). Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, ii. 131 *seqq.*, accepts Dr. Blau's conjecture as to the course of the way from Dobrinja across the Crnagora, and sees in the Roman remains found at Glavice, Glamoč, and Livno, an indication of its subsequent course. Tomaschek advocates the same general line (*Die vorslawische Topographie der Bosna*, &c. p. 16 *seqq.*), but his views on Dalmatian topography are not corrected by personal observation. A comparison of the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* seems to show that between Leusaba and Æquum there were two alternative routes. In the *Tabula* we have Æquo, viii. in Alperio, xiiii. Bariduo, —— Ionnaria, xiii. Sarute, vii. Indenea, v. Baloie, xii. Leusaba. In Antonine: Æquo, xvii. Pelva, xviii. Salvia, or Silviæ, xxiiii. Sarnacle (or Sarnade), xviii. Leusaba.

[b] "in Ermangelung antiker Reste kann Leusaba nur im allgemeinem in der Hochebene Podraznica angegeben werden."

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supposed to be Roman, at Radkovo,[a] in other words, on the road from Dobrinja to Kliuč, and only separated by a small range from the Sana Valley.[b]

It is indeed difficult to imagine that a main line of communication, which in its early aspect was before all things a coupling-chain of fortified posts wherewith to bridle the fierce highlanders of the Dalmatian Alps, should not have afforded access to such an important strategic point as Kliuč has shown itself down to the very latest days of Illyrian warfare.

In the Vale of Unnac itself,[c] I lighted on some important remains which greatly serve to corroborate the hypothesis that King Bela's road owed its original construction to Roman engineers. A little below the point where the old road crossed the Unnac by a bridge, now destroyed, at a spot called Vrtoča, is a large and apparently artificial mound, partly imbedded in which are a confused medley of accurately squared limestone blocks. Some of these had been used in later times as Christian tombstones, as was evidenced by the crosses carved on them[d] but the whole gave me the impression that I was on the site of some considerable Roman structure, and although the circumstances of my visit did not permit of a long investigation I found upon one of the blocks a bas-relief of really fine Roman workmanship, representing Mercury holding the *caduceus* (see fig. 3[a]). The block itself was about five feet square, its depth three feet, the height of the face of the relief itself about two feet and a-half.[e]

In front of the mound on which these ancient remains occur, a *vallum* about a hundred yards in length traverses the level part of the valley from the river-

[a] Cf. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 110.

[b] Near Varcar, to the North of Banjaluka and Eastward of Kliuč, have been recently discovered Roman remains, including a large hoard of *denarii*, mostly of the Emperors Alexander Severus, Gordian, Philip, Trajan Decius, Gallus, and Volusian, some sixty of which have passed through my hands. The discovery of Roman remains at this site establishes a link of connexion between the Sana Valley and the succession of Roman sites at Podlipci, Runić, Mosunj, Putačevo and Vitež, in the Valley of the Lašva, and points to an old line of communication between the Upper Bosna and the Sana, which opens the most natural route towards Siscia.

[c] Interesting remains have been lately discovered by Capt. Von. Handel in the Valley of the Unna about an hour to the south-east of Bihać. They consist of several inscriptions, one presenting the female Illyrian name-form DITVEIO and the Mazeian name *Andes*, a Mithraic relief, a figure of a Faun or Sylvanus, and other fragments. Prof. Tomaschek, who has published an account of the discovery (*Sitzungsberichte der k. k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1881, h. 2, p. 466 *seqq.*), is inclined to identify the site with the ancient Rætinium. There is a height answering well enough to the description of the Acropolis of Rætinium, besieged by Germanicus.

[d] In one case a monogram appeared, Æ

[e] I have alluded to this discovery in my *Illyrian Letters*, London, 1878, p. 37.

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bank. This is known as *Šanac*,[a] or "the dyke," and on the neighbouring height of Mount Obljaj, are two more, known as *Gradine*.

More recently I learn that a schoolmaster from Srb on the triple frontier has discovered another Roman monument in the Unnac Valley, described in the

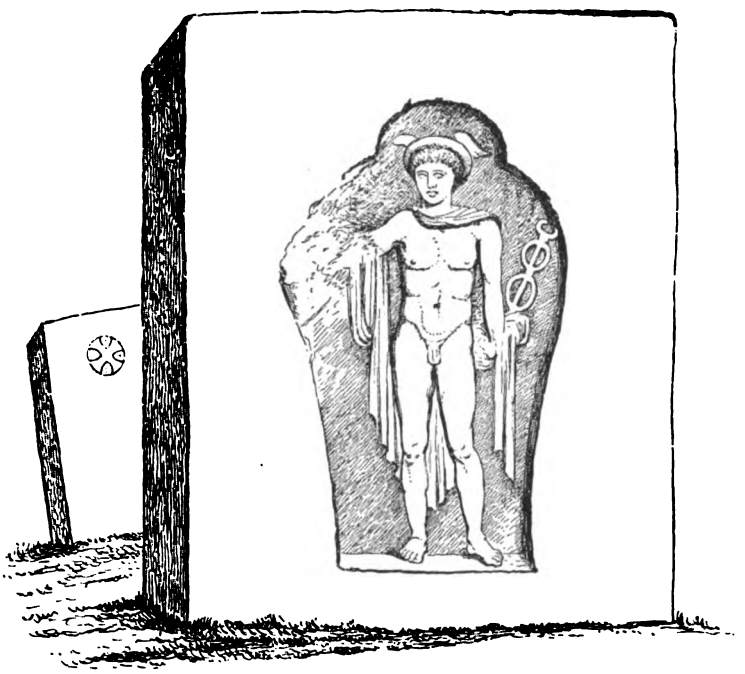


Fig. 3[a]. ROMAN BAS-RELIEF OF MERCURY.
Vrtoča, in the Unnac Valley, Bosnia.

Croatian Archæological Journal as a fragment of a sepulchral slab showing a human figure in bas-relief with crossed arms, and beneath it an inscription too weather-worn to be deciphered, but in Roman characters.[b]

After crossing the water-shed the ancient road descends into the vale of the Tiškovac stream a little above the village of Strmica. Here, again, Roman remains are abundant. I have procured many good specimens of imperial and consular denarii from this site, and a sepulchral inscription was found here in

[a] Cf. Germ. *Schanze*.

[b] *Viestnik hrvatskoga arkeologičkoga Družtva*, 1880, p. 63: "jedan komad nadgrobne ploče na kojoj je u basirilifu ljučka slika skrstenima rukama izpod koje nadpis koj je zub vremena veoma iztrošio, no vidi se ipak da je rimski." In the same communication is mentioned the discovery of Roman coins of Constantine's time, together with other antiquities, at Kumićgrad, an hour's distance from Srb.

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honour of a soldier of the 11th Legion.[a] From Strmica the River Butišnica opens a natural avenue to the Vale of Knin, in the immediate neighbourhood of which and at Topolje, near the beautiful upper falls of the Kerka, Roman remains are of frequent occurrence.



Fig. 4[a]. MONUMENT, PERHAPS OF AN EARLY CROAT PRINCE. Knin, Dalmatia.

At Knin itself, apparently the ancient Varvaria—witness an inscription[b] found on the neighbouring banks of the Kerka, the ancient Titus or Titius—I observed, walled into a gateway on a public walk, a little below the old castle, or "Starigrad," a monument dating probably from the period when the interior part of Dalmatia was in the possession of Croat princes, the coast-cities being still Roman under the more or less shadowy suzerainty of Byzantium. I paid, indeed, the by no means unexampled penalty of being arrested by the Austrian Commandant for my temerity in copying a stone which was within his "*rayon*," but I was able to preserve at least the front view of this interesting memorial (fig. 4[a]). It has since, I am informed, been mysteriously removed from its ancient site; for there are still, it would appear, European countries in which archæology savours of sedition.

The monument is of a remarkable kind. Its face, so far as it is preserved, presents two compartments, in the upper of which stands a full-length figure holding a spear, and some unknown object; in the lower is the full-face bust of a larger figure, which suggests a direct tradition from Constantinian times, to the left of which is a sceptre. The acanthus leaf and chevron bordering—the latter of which is frequent on the Roman monuments of Dalmatia—also show the influence of Imperial models. The elaborate palmetto ornament (fig. 5[a]), which forms the border of the exposed side of the slab,[c] also occurs on the Roman

[a] C. I. L. iii. 6417.

[b] The monument (C. I. L. iii. 6418) is erected to a veteran of the 11th legion killed here, "FINIBVS VARVARINORVM IN AGELLO SECVS TITVM FLVMEN AD PETRAM LONGAM." It was found near the village of Puljane, at a spot still known as Duga Stina, "the long rock" (cf. p. 35).

[c] The other face of the monument when I saw it was built into the wall. Its height was about 2½ feet. The segment of this ornament (fig. 5[a]) is taken from a sketch which the susceptibility of the Austrian authorities prevented me from completing and which is therefore imperfect.

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monuments of the province, and as an ornamental tradition was preserved by the Roman coast-cities of Dalmatia in the early Middle Ages. It is seen, for instance, on the *repoussé* silver *arca* of St. Demetrius at Arbe, an indigenous Dalmatian work of the eleventh or twelfth century,[a] as well as on the panels of the wooden door of the Duomo at Spalato, executed by that admirable Spalatine artist, Andrea Guvina, in the year 1214. In lapidary sculpture it seems to have been not unfrequent in Adriatic regions in the eighth century, occurring in a rather degraded form on the altar of the Lombard Duke Pemmo, of Friuli, who was deposed by Liutprand in 738.



Fig. 5[a]. Specimen of Ornamentation on the side of the Monument.

The legend between the two panels on the face of the slab appears to be STEFATON‖ (TE in ligature). It is possible, however, that the final letter may be part of an M. The sceptre to the left of the bust would certainly seem to indicate a princely personage, and I observe that a sceptre of similar form is repeated at intervals round the font of the Serbian Great Župan Voislav, or Višeslav, of Zachulmia, formerly in the church of S. Salvatore, at Venice, at present existing in the Museo Correr. The Great Župan, whose name it bears, and whom Dr. Kukuljević Sakcinski[b] first identified with the historical personage referred to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ruled over Zachulmia, the old Serbian region inland from Ragusa, embracing a good deal of what is at present the Herzegovina, between about the years 870—900. The son of this Zachulmian prince, Michael Višević, is twice brought into connexion with the Croatian King Tomislav. About the year 925, Pope John X. addressed to both a letter exhorting them to bring up their children in the knowledge of Latin letters;[c] and shortly after this exhortation, both princes are found presiding at a synod at Spalato,[d] in which the use of the Slav vernacular is again denounced. Could it be shown that Tomislav, like so many later Slavonic princes, attached the Christian name Stephanus, or

[a] Engraved in Eitelberger, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmaziens*, p. 150.

[b] *Arkiv za poviestnicu jugoslavensku*, vol. iv. p. 390 *seqq.* The frontispiece to this volume contains a representation of the font.

[c] *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiæ Dalmatiæ et Slavoniæ*, xc. (t. i. p. 76). The Pope continues, "Quis enim specialis filius sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, sicut vos estis, in barbara seu Sclavinica lingua Deo sacrificium offerre delectatur?"

[d] *Codex diplomaticus*, xcii. (t. i. p. 78).

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Stefanus, to his Croatian name, the inscription on the present stone—the final letter of which is uncertain—might be taken for the commencement of the words STEFAN TOMISLAV. It is certain that Knin was highly favoured by the early Croatian princes; its bishops received from them the title of *Episcopi regii*, or *palatini*,[a] and the Latin style of the present inscription fits in well with King Tomislav's acquiescence in the Pope's injunction to abjure the barbarian letters, in other words, the Glagolitic alphabet.

It is probable that the course of the Roman road, with which we are at present specially concerned, passed rather to the east of Knin, skirting its plain, to the Roman site at Topolje.

From Topolje the present road leads by an easy pass to the town of Verlika, in the neighbourhood of which, and especially near the source of the Cettina, several Roman inscriptions have been found, presenting some Illyrian name-forms. While examining one of these in the mediæval graveyard that surrounds the ruined church of S. Salvatore (Svéti Spas)—itself, as some interlaced Byzantine ornament built into its walls shows, the successor of a still earlier foundation—I had the curiosity to ask my Verlika guide to whom he thought the ancient monuments owed their origin. He replied that they were made by the old inhabitants of the land, the *Goti-Romani*, or Roman Goths, who lived there before his own (Slavonic) forefathers took possession of it. The reply was curious, as this local tradition of the Goths was certainly, in his case, not derived from book-learning. The Ostro-Gothic dominion in Dalmatia, as has already been remarked, was a prosperous episode in the history of the province. The number of coins of Theodoric, Athalaric, and even the later kings, Witiges, and the Totila[b] of history, that are discovered on Dalmatian soil is remarkable, and we have the distinct statement of Procopius that there existed, side by side with the Roman provincials, a settled Gothic population in Dalmatia. That the name of the Goths should still survive in the local folk-lore is the less to be wondered at when we remember how large a part they play in the early Slavonic sagas collected by the first Dalmatian historian, the Presbyter of Dioclea.

From Verlika the road runs past Citluk, near Sinj, the site of the ancient Æquum, to Salona and Spalato. Thus from the upper Sana to the Adriatic, on a line of ancient communication between the valley of the Save and the local

[a] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 280.

[b] On his coins, *Baduila* or *Baduela*. In this connexion I may mention that I have obtained from Bosnia a jacinth intaglio on which is engraved a monogram bearing the closest resemblance to that of Theodoric on his coins.

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successors of Siscia and Sirmium on the one hand and the Dalmatian littoral and the local successor of Salonæ on the other, I have traced a succession of sites marked by the occurrence of Roman monuments and remains. It is difficult not to believe that this ancient line of communication and the paved road across the ranges of the Upper Kraina represent the Roman road by which, according to the Itinerary of Antonine and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the port of Salonæ was brought into connexion with the Pannonian cities Siscia and Sirmium. It was by no other road that, when Attila overwhelmed these two imperial cities, the fugitive remnants of their citizens made their way across the Dinaric ranges to what was then the great Dalmatian city of asylum. It does not appear that the ravages of Attila actually extended to the Dalmatian littoral, but in 591 A.D. we find the Avar Khagan making use of this avenue of communication to penetrate into the Adriatic coast-lands from the valley of the Save. According to the Byzantine chroniclers[a] the Avar Khagan, compelled to evacuate Singidunum, the present Belgrade, hurried to Dalmatia and the Ionian, we may translate the Adriatic, Sea, capturing on the way, with the aid of siege material, a city variously named *Bankeis*, *Balkes*, *Balbes*, and *Balea*, and destroying forty other strongholds. That his chief advance was made along the Roman high-road appears from the succeeding notice of Theophylact, that the Roman officer who was despatched with a small body of not more than two thousand men to observe the Khagan's motions kept to the byways and avoided the main roads[b] lest he should encounter the enemy in overwhelming forces. In this city, which from the context we may infer to have been the key stronghold of the Roman main line of communication across the Dinaric Alps, some have traced the *Baloie* which appears in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the midmost station between Servitium and Salonæ, and Šafarik[c] has discerned in it the peak-stronghold of Bilaj, about ten miles distant from the confluence of the Unnac and the Unna, famous in later history as the scene of the execution of the last King of Bosnia by his Turkish captors. Dr. Rački[d] prefers to see in it Baljke, near Derniš, within the modern Dalmatian border.[e] Personally, I would

[a] Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist.* vii. 11, 12 (Ed. Bonn, p. 291.) Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 428.

[b] Τὰς λεωφόρους.

[c] *Slav. Alt.* vol. ii. p. 238.

[d] *Mon. Spec. hist. Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. vii. p. 254.

[e] I can see no reasonable grounds for accepting Prof. Tomaschek's conjecture (in the teeth of all the MSS.), that the word is a corruption of *Salviis* (*Vorslawische Topographie*, &c. p. 19), or the suggestion of

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venture to suggest that the alternative forms "Βαγγκεις" and "Βαλκης" simply represent a late Latin "*Balneis*" or "*Bagneis*," the Italian Bagni. The Roman word in its singular form *Balnea* has supplied the present Slavonic-speaking inhabitants of Illyricum with the word "*Banja*," universally applied to places where hot springs exist, and the thermal source and remains of the Roman bath-building at *Banjaluka* give the word a peculiar significance in connexion with the great highway from Pannonia to the Dalmatian coast, which, as has been already pointed out, passed by that position. In the *Tabula* Banjaluka appears as *Castra*,[a] but by the sixth century the town may have already begun to bear the vulgar Latin name that it has preserved to this day. Geographically, this identification squares well with the course of this Avar invasion, and, indeed, from a military point of view, the position holds the key to the northern end of the line of passes through which the Roman road ran after leaving the lowlands of the Save.

This Roman highroad was thus already in the fifth and sixth centuries an avenue at once of barbarian invasion and of civilised exodus towards the sunny shores of the Adriatic. Eight centuries after the time of Attila the descendants of the very hordes that had driven forth the Romans from the Pannonian cities were forced to flee from Mongols more savage than themselves, and the abiding traces and traditions that I have been able to point out serve to show that it was by this same Roman road-line that King Bela and the remnants of the Hungarian chivalry sought their Dalmatian City of Refuge. It is interesting to notice that on the site of Salonæ, and in its local successor Spalato, monumental records both of the later and of the earlier catastrophes have been preserved to us. At Salonæ, beneath the floor of the Roman-Christian basilica, there was recently discovered, above a violated tomb, a marble slab erected to the memory of the infant daughter of some high-born Roman, "who was brought," the inscription tells us, "from Sirmium to Salonæ" (fig. 6[a]):[b]—

DEPOSETIO INFANTIS
DOMNICAE XII KALED
OCTOBRIS QVAE A SIRMI
O SALONAS ADVCTA EST

Dr. Hoernes (*Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, &c. vol. ii. p. 134), that "*Salviæ*" (in most MSS. "*Silviæ*") and "*Balbeis*" are alternative names for the same place.

[a] Perhaps the AD LADIOS of Antoninus.

[b] This monument is at present in the Museum at Spalato, and has been described by Dr. Glavinić.

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Written in a style and letters that proclaim the age of Attila, the simple record, "*Quæ a Sirmio Salonas aducta est*," speaks for itself. Side by side with this

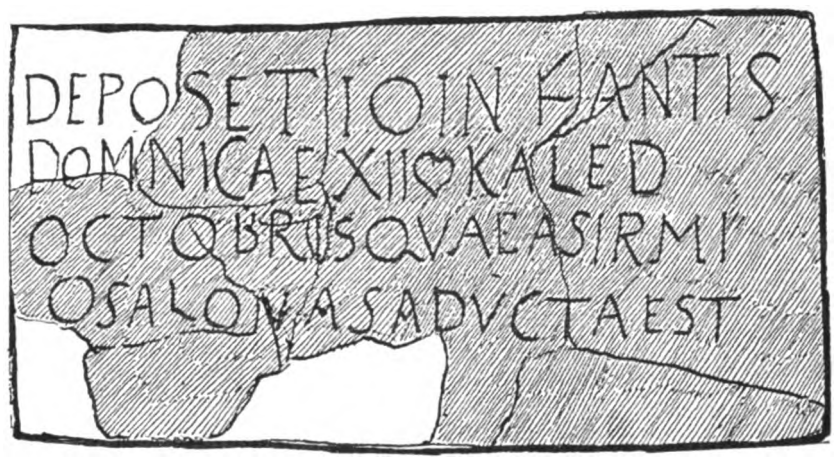


Fig. 6[a]. ROMAN CHRISTIAN SEPULCHRAL SLAB.
From the Christian Basilica, Salona.

Salonitan memorial to this tender victim of the Huns and their associates may be set a monument formerly existing outside the Cathedral Church at Spalato, reared to the memory of the two young princesses, daughters of King Bela, who succumbed at Clissa to the hardships and terrors of the flight from the Tatars, and whose bodies were carried to Spalato:[a]—

CATHARINA INCLYTA ET FVLGENS MARGARITA
IN HOC ARCTO TVMVLO IACENT ABSQVE VITA
BELLE IIII FILIE REGIS HUNGARORVM
ET MARIE LASCARI REGINE GRECORVM
AB IMPIIS TARTARIS FVERVNT FVGATE
MORTVE IN CLISSIO HVC SPALETVM TRANSLATE.

[a] Cf. Thomas Archidiaconus, *op. cit.* c. xl. "Mortuæ sunt duæ puellæ virgines, scilicet filiæ regis Belæ et in ecclesia B. Domnis honorificè tumulatæ."

Lucius, who gives this inscription in his notes to Thomas Archid. (in *De Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ*, Frankfort, 1666, p. 478), adds, "Gulielmus quoque, Belæ ex filia nepos, in hac eadem fuga mortuus, Tragurii sepultus fuit." The epitaph of this prince formerly existing at Traü is given by the same author in his Memorials of that city. It contained the lines,

"Arcente denique barbaro perverso
Infinitis Tartaris marte sub adverso,
Quartum Belam prosequens ejus consobrinum
Ad mare pervenerat usque Dalmatinum."

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The roads, the course of which I have been hitherto attempting to investigate, were of considerable importance as the highways of communication between the Dalmatian capital and the great Adriatic emporium of Aquileja, the key of Italy, on the one side and on the other between it and the imperial Pannonian cities, Siscia and Sirmium. From Salonæ onwards another main line of thoroughfare was opened out along the lateral valleys of the Dinaric ranges to Scodra and Dyrrhachium, where it joined the famed Egnatian Way and the Greek and Macedonian road system.

The course of this road—which forms, in fact, a continuation of the land route connecting the Italian cities with Athens and Thessalonica—has been ascertained with tolerable precision as far as the next important Dalmatian centre, Narona.

From Salonæ the road ran inland, past the key-fortress of Klissa, the Κλεῖσα of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, that closes the mountain-pass conducting towards the Vale of the Cettina. That river, the ancient Tilurus, it reached at a bridge-station called from it Pons Tiluri, or Tilurium, the name of which still survives in that of the modern village of Trilj, near which, at a spot called Gardun, the ancient site is still distinctly visible.

Here, on the right bank of the Cettina, was discovered an important inscription referring to the restoration of the Roman bridge over the river by the citizens of Novæ, Delminium, and Rider, in the name of the Emperor Commodus.[a] The site of two of these cities has been fixed with certainty. Rider,[b] the Municipium Riditarum, was an important Illyrian staple near the present coast-town of Sebenico, the mediæval commercial relations of which with the interior it seems to have anticipated. The site of Novæ we shall pass at Runović, on the high road to Narona. The position of Delminium, the historic stronghold which

[a] IMP · CAES ‖ M. AVRELIVS ‖ COMMODVS ‖ ANTONINVS ‖ AVG · PIVS · SARM ‖ GERM · MAXIMVS ‖ BRITTANNICUS ‖ PONT · MAX · TRIB ‖ POT · VIIII · IMP · VI ‖ COS · IIII · P · P ‖ PONTEM · HIPPI FLVMI‖NIS · VETVSTATE COR‖RVPTUM RESTITVIT ‖ SVMPTVM ET OPERAS ‖ SVBMINISTRANTIBVS ‖ NOVENSIBVS DELMI‖NENSIBVS RIDITIS · CV‖RANTE · ET · DEDICANTE ‖ L · IVNIO · RVFINO · PROCV‖LIANO · LEG · PR · PR · (C. I. L. iii. 3202.) This inscription was discovered by Dr. Carrara and first published in the *Bulletino dell' Inst. di Corr. Arch.* 1815. The name of Commodus had been defaced in accordance with the orders of the Senate recorded by Lampridius.

[b] The form in which it appears in Ravennas, the only geographer who mentions it. He gives it (5, 14) as the last station before reaching Scardona, on the road from Tragurion (Träú). Its actual site was at St. Danilo near Sebenico. (Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2767, &c.)

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gave its name to the dominant Dalmatian race,[a] is more difficult to determine. Earlier writers had no hesitation in looking for it beyond the Prolog range that overhangs the Cettina Valley to the north, in the plain of Duvno, the mediæval name of which, *Dulmno*, is derived unquestionably from an Illyro-Roman form *Dalmino*;[b] and where, on the heights of Županjac, Roman remains have been discovered. On the other hand, the occurrence of the name on the inscription relating to the Cettina bridge, coupled with the existence of considerable Roman remains on the height of Gardun, has led the most recent authorities to fix here the site of Delminium.[c] Mommsen argues with some force that the bridge must have been comprised in the territory of one of the three cities that bore the expense of its restoration; that we know that neither the Novenses nor the Riditæ embraced the Cettina valley in their district, and that, hence, it follows that the bridge lay in the territory of Delminium,[d] which he fixes at the site of Gardun. Professor Tomaschek, judging by the general range of the campaign that preceded the capture of this famous Dalmatian stronghold by Figulus, in 156 B.C. had been already led to seek its site in the Cettina valley;[e] and Professor Glavinić, of Spalato, who shares this view, has traced to his own satisfaction both the line of the walls of the original Illyrian city and the more restricted circumvallation of the Roman town, as rebuilt after the capture by Figulus and Scipio Nasica.[f]

Still, it must be observed that the simple fact that Figulus took Narona as his base in his campaign against Delminium does not by any means exclude its having been situated on the Duvno plain. The actual distance from Narona to Duvno is considerably less than that from Narona to Gardun, and a route might be chosen presenting few serious obstacles.[g] The evidence

[a] "Πόλιν Δελμίνιον ὅθεν ἄρα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῖς ἐς Δελματέας εἶτα Δαλμάτας ἐτράπη." Appian, *Illyr.* ii. Cf. Strabo. vii. 5.

[b] The variant forms of the name occur: *Delminum, Dalmis, Dalmion, Delmion.*

[c] Cf. Prof. W. Tomaschek, *Die vorslawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora. und der angrenzenden Gebiete* (Wien, 1880). (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 9. The Catholic bishopric that existed here in the fourteenth century was still known as *Ep. Delmensis* or *Dulmensis.*

[d] C. I. L. iii. p. 358, *s. v.* DELMINIUM.

[e] *Die vorslawische Topographie der Bosna, Herzegowina, Crnagora und der angrenzenden Gebiete.* (*Separat-abdruck aus den Mittheilungen der k. k. geographischen Gesellschaft*), p. 10.

[f] *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata,* 1878, p. 23.

[g] What is extremely pertinent in this regard, Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that the "Župa of Dalen," the form given by him to the old Slavonic Dulmno (Duvno), belonged to the Pagani or Narentans: a fact which shows a certain facility of inter-communication between the inland plain of Duvno and the

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again of the Itineraries is against Delminium having stood at Gardun, which answers to the station Tilurium or Pons Tiluri, a name as we have seen still perpetuated by the neighbouring village of Trilj. It is further noteworthy that, admitting that the ancient Delminium stood in the district which still preserves its name, the routes from Delminium and Novæ towards the port of the Riditæ would converge just at the point where the bridge was constructed. The name Delminium is absent in the Tabula and Itineraries, yet we know that it continued to survive from the fact that in the Second Provincial Council of Salonæ, A.D. 532, we find mention of an *Episcopus Delminensis Montanorum*,[a] a bishop, that is, whose district embraced what was then a mountain-girt territory, taking its name from the ancient city which itself, probably, was already in ruins. This sixth century "Delminian Weald" reappears in Constantine Porphyrogenitus[b] four centuries later as the Župa of Dalen, the Dulmno or Duvno of later Slavonic records; and the Presbyter of Dioclea, who composed his *Regnum Slavorum* (woven for the most part out of earlier Sagas) at Antivari in the twelfth century, places the fabled Synod of King Svatopluk on "the Plain of Dalma."[c] In the other version of this earliest Serbian Chronicle, that, namely, discovered in the Kraina and translated into Latin from the original Slav by Marcus Marulus in 1510, the King's name appears as Budimir, and the place of the great Moot is expressly mentioned as on the site of the ruins of Delminium. These traditions are at least valuable as showing the continued living on of the old Illyrian city-name on the Duvno plain in an ecclesiastical connexion; and this is further brought out by Thomas, the Archdeacon of Spalato, who, writing in the thirteenth century, speaks of Duvno as *Delmina*, and as containing the site of the ancient city *Delmis*. He further tells us that in his day there was still to be seen here a church with an inscription recording its dedication by St. Germanus, Bishop of Capua,[e] who, as we learn from other sources, was sent

Narenta Valley. (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 30.) Dr. Kukuljević, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiæ, Dalmatiæ et Slavoniæ*, pt. I. p. 86, note, agrees in identifying the Zupa of "Dalen" with Duvno.

[a] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173.

[b] *Loc. cit.* The geographical details of Constantine regarding Dalmatia and its borderlands are peculiarly valuable, and seem to have been supplied by trustworthy native informants; not improbably Ragusan patricians, amongst whom was a Byzantine *Protospatharius*. Constantine's words are: "ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δαλενοῦ (ζουπανία) μηκόθεν ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας ζῶσι τῆς γῆς."

[c] "In planitie Dalmæ," Diocleas, *Regnum Slavorum* (in *Lucius de Regno Dalmatiæ*, &c. Frankfort, 1666, p. 289.)

[d] Marci Maruli, *Regum Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ gesta* (in *Lucius, op. cit.* p. 306).

[e] *Historia Salonitana*, cap. xiii. "Istaque fuerunt Regni eorum (sc. regum Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ)

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by Pope Hormisdas to Constantinople in 509 A.D.[a] This is certainly an indication that the bishopric of Delminium, mentioned in the Council-Acts of Salona of A.D. 532, should be sought on the plain of Duvno, where in Thomas's days this ancient basilica was still standing. From the early part of the fourteenth century (1337) onwards we again hear of a regular series of bishops of Duvno, *Episcopi Delmenses*.[b]

The Roman monuments themselves discovered on the Gardun site supply strong negative evidence that the city that existed there was rather a Roman foundation than a great native centre. They are almost purely of a legionary character. On the other hand, if we examine the monuments discovered on the site of the Municipium of the Riditæ, which appears from the inscription relating to the bridge to have been the maritime outlet of the old Dalmatian capital, we find a very large proportion of pure Illyrian names, such as Panto, Madocus, Tritano, Aplo, Baezo, Vendo, Pladomenus, and if we turn to another inland example of an important native site, the old Illyrian hill-stronghold of St. Ilija, near Plevlje, we are again struck with the great preponderance of native names, the bulk of which are absolutely identical with those that occur on the monuments of the Riditæ. So remarkable, indeed, are the coincidences that we are reduced to infer that a strong commercial bond of some kind linked these two sufficiently remote Illyrian centres. How much the more must this community of names have existed between the Riditæ and the comparatively neighbouring Delminenses, whose cities, moreover, we know from the Gardun inscription to have been connected by commerce as well as by the affinities of race. And yet we are asked to believe that a site characterised rather by an absence of Dalmatian names was that of the city which gave its name to the Dalmatian race.

From all these considerations I am led, the high authority of Mommsen notwithstanding, to seek the site of Delminium on the more inland plain that still preserves a corruption of its name. Von Hahn's derivation of the name Delminium, as suggested by Albanian parallels, from an Illyrian word signifying a sheep-pasture,[c] fits in well with the character of the Duvno Polje, and this

confinia, ab Oriente Delmina ubi fuit civitas Delmis in qua est quædam Ecclesia quam B. Germanus Capuanus Episcopus consecravit sicut scriptum reperitur in ea."

[a] Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. iv. p. 169.

[b] Farlati, *op. cit.* t. iv. p. 168 *seqq.* From 1685 onwards the diocese was placed under Vicars Apostolic.

[c] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 232. Hahn is of opinion that Delminium answers to a Gheg Albanian form δελμίν-εα = sheep-fold, or sheep-pasture. He further compares the name of the Dalmatian city with that of the two Epirote towns *Delvino* and *Delvinaki*.

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pastoral origin would explain the statement of Strabo[a] that Scipio Nasica made the plain a sheep pasture at the same time that he reduced the size of the town.

Whether or not, however, the Roman city that stood on the site of Gardun bore any earlier name than that of Tilurium, under which it appears in the *Itineraries*, it is certain that the remains of an aqueduct and of an amphitheatre attest the former existence at this spot of a station of considerable importance. Gems and other minor antiquities are discovered here in great abundance, and a carnelian intaglio representing the head of the Emperor Antoninus Pius procured by me from this site is one of the most exquisite examples of Roman portraiture with which I am acquainted.

Beyond the bridge station of the Tilurus traces of the road have been detected,[b] running from Vedrine, on the left bank of the river, past the village of Budimir, and along the vale of Cista to Lovreć,[c] and thence to Runović, on the skirts of the plain of Imoski. Here was the site of an important Municipium, the identification of which with the AD NOVAS of the *Tabula* is established by the discovery at this spot of inscriptions referring to the *Novenses*.[d] Here were found two altars dedicated to Jove and the Genius of the Municipium, and other inscriptions referring to the local IIVIRI and Decurions. The remains of baths and of tasteful mosaic pavements attest the prosperity of the Roman town; and the Christian *Basilica* of the Municipium Novense is mentioned as late as 532 A.D. The bridge over the Cettina, in the construction of which, as we have seen, the inhabitants of this city participated,[e] must have been of the highest importance to the *Novenses*, as improving their communication with the North Dalmatian ports.

Beyond Runović the Roman road crosses the watershed into the upper

[a] *Geog.* vii. 5: "Δάλμιον δὲ μεγάλη πόλις ἧς ἐπώνυμον τὸ ἔθνος μικράν δ' ἐποιήσε Νασικᾶς καὶ τὸ πεδίον μηλόβοτον διὰ τήν πλεονεξίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων."

[b] Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 1878, p. 54. A. K. Matas, *Prinos za iztraživanje tragova rimskih puteva u Dalmaciji* ("A contribution towards investigating the traces of the Roman roads in Dalmatia"), in the *Viestnik hrvatskoga arkeologičkoga Družtva*, 1880, p. 32, mentions an alternative route along the right bank of the Cettina, but omits to specify the evidence on which his statements rest.

[c] According to Prof. Glavinić, *loc. cit.* traces of a Roman road are to be seen running from Lovreć to the Western part of the plain of Duvno.

[d] C. I. L. iii. 1892, 1908, 1909, 1910.

[e] *Acta Concilii* ii. *Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173.

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valley of the Tihaljina or Trebižat, where remains of it are still to be traced near the village of Neždravica and elsewhere, running along the left bank of the river.[a]

The next station along the road that can be determined with certainty is Bigeste, the last station before reaching Narona. The ruins of this city are visible at Gradčine and Humac, near the Herzegovinian town of Ljubuški, still in the valley of the river Trebižat, and the foundations of a Roman bridge that spanned the river at this point are still preserved.[b] Several inscriptions have been discovered on this site, two of them recording the restoration of a temple and portico of Liber Pater by officers of the 1st and 11th Legions;[c] and a milestone, now, unfortunately, no longer to be seen, is said to have been found near the village of Humac.

To the inscriptions from this site I am able to add the following, a copy of which I obtained from the Pravoslav Kalugjer of Ljubuški, Kristofor Milutinović. It was found near Ljubuški, in January last, and exists at present near the Serbian church. (See fig. 7*.)

The auxiliary cohort of the *Lucenses* to which this *Eques* belonged was from Lucus Augusti, the present Lugo, in Gallæcia. There is epigraphic evidence of the presence of the 1st cohort of the Lucenses in Pannonia,[d] in the year 80 A.D.; and there are references to the second and fifth Lucensian cohorts in other Illyrian military diplomas of the first and second century.[e] The name *Andamionius* has, as might be expected, a Celtic ring, recalling the *Andoco(mius)* and *Amminus* of British coins. *Andes* occurs as an indigenous Dalmatian name.

Between the site of Bigeste[f] and Narona the Roman road is distinctly trace-

[a] Dr. Glavinić traced its course in 1856 from Runović past the villages of Ploče and Drinovce to the Upper Tihaljina. *Bullettino, loc. cit.* Cf. Dr. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien u. der Hertzegovina*, Berlin, 1877, c. 42.

[b] Cf. Hoernes, *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien u. der Hercegovina* in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen*, vol. iv. p. 37 *seqq.*

[c] C. I. L. iii. 6362, 6363, one of A.D. 173.

[d] Cf. the *Diploma of Vespasian*, C. I. L. iii. D. xi.

[e] II LVCENSIVM, C. I. L. iii. D. xxi. in Mœsia A. 105: V. LVCIENSIVM ET CALLAECORVM. A. 60 in Illyricum. D. ii.: A. 85 in Pannonia D. xii.: in Pannonia Superior D. xxxix. In the *Notitia Utriusque Imperii* (*Occ.* xlii. 29) is mentioned the *Tribunus Cohortis Lucensis, Luco.*

[f] From the occurrence of Roman remains at a succession of localities (Vitina, Kreindvor, Studenci, Gradnić, Čerin, Kruška), between Ljubuški and the Vale of Mostar, Dr. Hoernes conjectures that on this side a road branched off from Bigeste to the valley of the Narenta. (Cf. Blau, *Reisen in Bosnien*, &c. p. 42).

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able, being, indeed, in parts so well preserved that, if cleared of bushes, it might still be useful for traffic.[a] The natives, without taking in the meaning of their words,

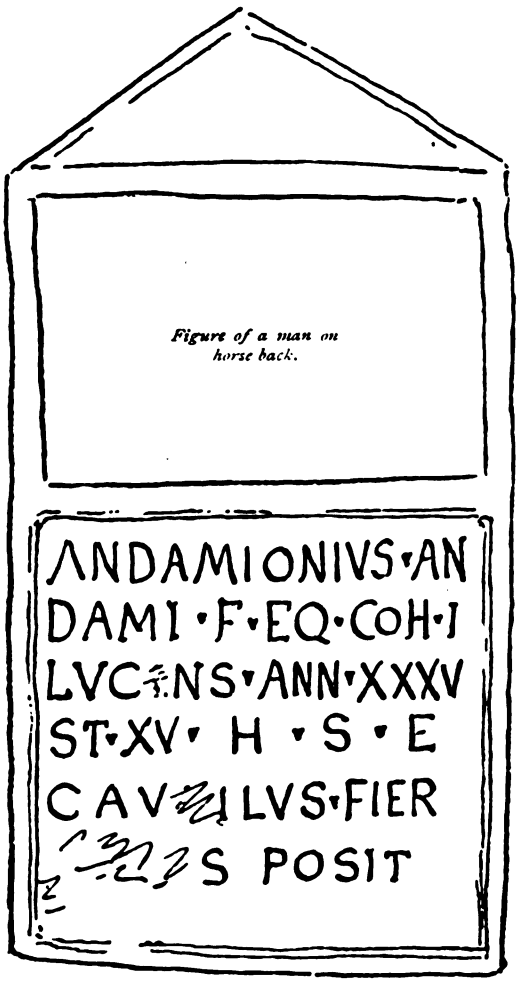


Fig. 7[a]. FROM LJUBUŠKI, HERZEGOVINA, THE ANCIENT BICESTE.

still repeat a tradition, that it leads from "Solin to Norin," in other words, from Salona to Narona. They call it *Sekulan* or "Janko's Road," from a supposed connexion with the feats of the latter-day Illyrian hero, John Hunniades, the *Deli Janko* of South-Slavonic epic. At distances respectively of one and two miles from Viddo, the site of Narona, the bases of two Roman milestones are still in position.

The site of the important Dalmatian city of Narona has been better explored than most. One hundred and twenty-six inscriptions from this spot have been

[a] Glavinić, *Mittheilungen der k. k. Commission*, &c. 1880, p. xciii.

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published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum*,[a] and others have been added more recently by Professor Glavinić, being the result of excavations conducted at this spot on behalf of the Central Commission at Vienna.[b] The early existence of an Illyrian staple on the lower Narenta may be gathered from the passage of Theopompos of Chios, already cited;[c] and the fact signalized by Prof. Mommsen, that here alone among Dalmatian sites have been discovered Roman inscriptions of the age of the Republic, indicates that a Roman mercantile plantation had been established here at a period considerably anterior to the "deduction" hither, about the time of Augustus, of a colony of Veterans.

The chief remains are situate on a conical hill,[d] the existing village on which owes its name, *Viddo*, to a divinity of the Narentine Slavs,—the *Pagani* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Here, probably, was the Castra or citadel of Narona, of which Vatinius speaks in his letter, addressed to Cicero from this city;[e] the rest of the town lying in terraces on the mountain theatre behind.

A number of beautiful objects found on this site, besides the inscriptions recording the erection of temples and public baths by local benefactors, attest the former opulence of this Illyrian city. In the course of his recent excavations Professor Glavinić discovered here an amethystine glass bowl of exquisite fabric, and from the occurrence of glass tumblers of that late thorn-bossed kind,[f] which in the West we are apt to associate with Frankish and Saxon sepulture, we may infer that here, as at Doclea further to the South, glass manufacture continued till a very late date; at least, it is difficult to imagine that such fragile wares as I have seen excavated at Narona were transported from any great distance. It is possible that the Ostro-gothic chiefs in Dalmatia, like their Teutonic kinsmen of the West, patronised this curious excrescence of late-Roman luxury.

The smaller glass bottles and so-called lachrymatories, so common on this site, have a special interest in their connexion with a local product. Pliny tells us that only two unguents of the royal Persian kind are produced in Europe, the

[a] C. I. L. iii. p. 291 *seqq.* and p. 1029.

[b] Cf. Glavinić, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, &c. *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. iv. p. 86 *seqq.*

[c] See p. 45.

[d] Cf. Glavinić, *Mittheilungen*, &c. 1880, p. xciv.

[e] "Vatinius Imp. Ciceroni . . . . ex castris Narona." (*Ad. Fam.* v. ep. 9.) Vatinius complains of the Dalmatian winter.

[f] A specimen seen by me at Metcovich, and found at Viddo on the site of Narona, was precisely similar in form to tumblers found in Kent, in the Saxon cemetery at Fairford, in the Frankish graves at Selzen in Rhenish Hesse, in Normandy, and elsewhere. Cf. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. li. Lindenschmidt, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, vol. i. Heft xi. t. 7, &c.

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Illyrian *Iris* and the Gallic spikenard.[a] The best quality of *Iris* grew, he tells, in the wooded interior about the Drin and the city of Narona. The mouths of the Naron or Narenta,[b] on which this city lay, and the Drin, had already been celebrated for this herb by Nikander in his *Theriaca*,[c] and the naturalist Theophrastos[d] yields the palm to the Illyrian *Iris*. The flower from whose root the spikenard was prepared is abundant throughout all this region, and its rainbow petals may still be seen lighting up the ruins of Narona. To the natives it is known as *Mačić*, a translation of the Latin word *Gladiolus*,[e] but also as *Perunika*,[f] suggestive of the name of the old Slavonic Thunder-god Perun, and thus attesting the abiding veneration in which the herb was held. We may perhaps reasonably infer that many of these Naronitan *unguentaria* contained the precious balm for which the neighbouring Illyrian wilds were so early famous, and which was exported, as may be gathered from Pliny's reference, to the other provinces of the Empire. In this connexion I may mention an *unguentarium*, recently obtained by me on the site of the ancient Salonæ, which seems to show that that luxurious Dalmatian city was not content with perfumes of native origin. It is a small crystal bottle of a form suggestive of Oriental influences, and was no doubt one of those precious *crystalla*, or crystal vessels imported, as Martial[g] tells us, by the Nile fleet (fig. 7*):—Alexandria, being then the channel by which the products of India and the furthest East reached Italy and the West. I obtained the *unguentarium* on the spot from a peasant who had dug it up with other Roman remains in his *campagna* within the circuit of the ancient walls. It is not improbable that it formed part of the contents of a late-Roman grave; a variety of crystal vessels were found in the sarcophagus of Maria, the child-bride of Honorius,

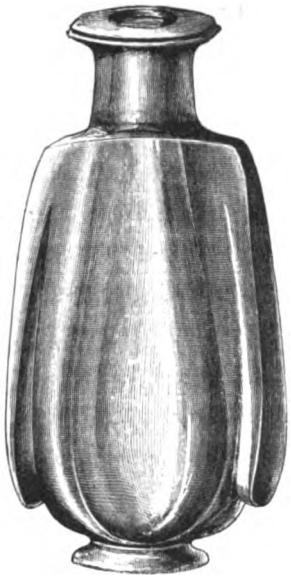


Fig. 7*.
CRYSTALLUM FROM SALONÆ.

[a] "Ergo regale unguentum appellatur quoniam regibus Parthorum ita temperatur . . . . . Nihilque ejus rei causa in Italia victrice omnium, in Europa vero tota, præter irim Illyricam et nardum Gallicum gignitur." (*H. N.* lib. xiii. c. 2.)

[b] "Iris . . . . . laudatissima in Illyrico et ibi quoque non in maritimis sed in silvestribus Drilonis et Narona." (*H. N.* lib. xxi. c. 19.) Pliny here names the city *Narona* and not the river *Naron*.

[c] Ἶριν θ' ἣν ἴθρεψε Δρίλων καὶ Νάρονος ὄχθη.

[d] *Hist. Plant.* lib. ix. c. 9.

[e] Cf. the French word for Iris, *Glaïeul*.

[f] Also as *Bogiša*, from *Bog* = God.

[g] xii. 74, "Cum tibi Niliacus portet crystalla cataplus."

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brought to light during some excavations at St. Peter's in 1544,[a] and, in the fifth century, Salonæ, the last refuge of Empire in the West, rivalled Rome and Ravenna themselves in the dignity of her interments.

Among the objects obtained by myself from Narona are two marble heads, one of a Roman lady, the style of whose *coiffure* appears best to tally with that of the daughter of Diocletian and wife of Galerius, the Empress Galeria Valeria, though the workmanship would seem to belong to a better age; the other head is of Mercury, and is executed in a fine Græco-Roman style. The cult of Mercury was specially popular at Narona, as is witnessed by an altar and another dedicatory inscription,[b] both raised by the Seviri Augustales, who add to their titles on several more of the local inscriptions the letters M.M. interpreted to mean *Magistri Mercuriales*.[c]

On the same occasion I procured the handle and part of the blade of a sacrificial knife (see Pl. II.), the use of which was possibly not unconnected with the sacral functions of these Naronese Seviri. The blade of this knife is of iron, the hilt of bronze, circled with an interlaced palmetto ornament, and terminating in a griffin's head of considerable spirit. The Roman sacrificial knife seems to have been of various forms and materials, and Festus[d] tells us of the gold and ivory handle of the "*secespita*" used by the flamens and pontifices at Rome. The present example answers exactly to a common form of the sacrificial knife as seen associated with other sacrificial utensils on ancient monuments. This monumental form, like the Naronese knife, is of great breadth in proportion to its length, and the handles, as in the present instance, terminate in the heads of animals such as lions and eagles.



Fig. 7†.
TURQUOISE RING FROM NARONA.

Engraved gems are plentiful among the ruins of Narona, and I acquired a ring of peculiar form and material (fig. 7†). It is carved out of a single pale Turquoise, the highly valued *Sapphirus* of the Ancients, and has engraved upon it in high relief a two-winged insect resembling a moth with folded wings.

The coins that have passed through my hands from this site range from Dyrrhachian silver pieces of the third century B.C. to

[a] Luc. Faunus, *de Antiquitatibus Urbis Romæ*, c. x. Cf. King, *National History of Gems or semi-precious Stones*, p. 105.

[b] C. I. L. iii. 1792, 1793.

[c] Cf. Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 291.

[d] *Ad. Virg. Æn.* iv. 262. Festus' words are: "Secespitam esse Antistius Labeo ait cultrum ferreum oblongum, manubrio rotundo, eburneo, solido, vincto ad capulum auro argentoque, fixum clavis æneis, ære Cyprio : quo Flamines, Flaminicæ Virgines, Pontificesque ad sacrificia utuntur." On Consular coins the instrument of sacrifice generally appears as an axe.

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the fifth century of our era. Consular *denarii* and coins of the early Empire are abundant; the latest piece that I have noticed is of the Emperor Anastasius.

With reference to the early Greek mercantile connexion with the Narenta valley, the name of Trappano, a little town on the peninsula of Sabbioncello, opposite the Narenta mouth, suggests a Hellenic origin. Its peninsular position was precisely such as the old Greek colonists on the Illyrian coast were prone to choose for their plantations, and it would stand to the Illyrian staple of Narona in the same relation as the Greek settlement on the isle of Issa stood to the staple of Salonæ. The name of Drepanon, or "the sickle," seems to have been commonly applied by Greek settlers to similar promontories, and the horn of rock which here runs into the sea presents analogies with the Cretan Dhrépano and the Sicilian Trapani. At Trappano itself the stranger hears of antiquities at every turn. Below the town is a tower known to the inhabitants as Cæsar's Palace, but a very slight examination convinced me of its mediæval origin. The same is probably true of the remains of the castle on the hill, but I observed a cistern and a wall with narrow bricks and tiles alternating with masonry; that certainly seemed to be of Roman construction. Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, and I was informed that, two and a-half years since, in making the new road, some beautifully-wrought marbles, including several inscriptions, were brought to light and at once broken up for road material. It is to be observed, as explaining the apparently Hellenic origin of Trappano, that it lies on the natural transit route across the peninsula of Sabbioncello, between the ancient emporium of the Narenta and the port of Curzola, the Κέρκυρα μέλαινα, or Black Corcyra, of the ancients, one of the earliest Greek island colonies on the Illyrian shore, and which must have stood to the mainland staple of Narona in the same economic relation as that in which Issa and Pharia stood to Salonæ. At the present day the communications between Curzola and Metcovich, the modern local representative of Narona, follows this line.

Up to Narona the general direction, at times even the exact course, of the great Dalmatian-Macedonian highway is well ascertained. The distances from Salonæ and Narona of the three identified stations, Pons Tiluri, Ad Novas, and Bigeste fit in well with the numbers of the *Itinerary* and *Tabula;*[a] and the total distance given—83 or 84 Roman miles—squares equally well with the actual

[a] Adding on in the case of the *Tabula* the omitted distance of xiii. m. p.

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distance from Viddo, the site of Narona, *viâ* Ljubuški, Runović, and Trilj, to the site of Salonæ, and at the same time approximates within a mile to Pliny's calculation.[a]

From Narona onwards to the neighbourhood of Scodra all is as dark and uncertain as it was clear before; and the last writer who has attempted to elucidate the problem, Dr. Hoernes,[b] in despair of reconciling the distances given with the probable localities of the stations, throws over the numbers supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* altogether.

It must be observed, however, that, with the exception of a single omission in the *Tabula*, which Antonine enables us to supply, we have up to this point had every reason to rely on the mileage given by our two authorities; and that the sum of the mileage given between Narona and Scodra, 172 m.p. is very much what we should expect to find it. Admitting that we have lost our compass, that is no reason for throwing away our measuring-rod as well.

Hitherto, for the whole distance, Narona—Scodra, there has been no intermediate fixed point to guide us in our inquiry. In the course of my explorations of the Herzegovinian ranges that lie inland to the north-east of the site of Epitaurum, I have come upon some Roman remains which may help to supply this desideratum. In order, however, to show what I believe to be the full bearing of these new materials on the question at issue, I may be allowed to examine the whole subject from a point of view which appears to me to have been hitherto too little regarded.

Before proceeding further with this investigation, it may be well to give a comparative table of the route Narona—Scodra, as given by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine.

Itinerary.	*Tabula.*
NARONA . . - . .	NARONA
	XII[c]
XXV	AD TVRRES
	XIII
DALLVNTO	DILVNTO
	XIIII

[a] lxxxv. m. p.

[b] *Alterthümer der Hercegovina und der südlichen Theile Bosniens*, vol. ii. p. 146.

[c] Accepting the correction of the xxii. given, in order to square with the xxv. m.p. given by Antonine as the distance, Narona—Dallunto.

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Itinerary.	*Tabula.*	
XL	PARDVA	
	XVI	AD ZIZIO
	VIII	XXVIII
LEVSINIO	LEVSINIO	ASAMO
	XII	XX
XXVIII	SALLVNTO	EPITAVRO
	XVII	
ANDERBA	ANDERVA	
	VI	
XVIII	VARIS	
	XI	
SALLVNTO	SALLVNTO	
XVII	XVII	
ALATA	HALATA	
X	X	
BIRZIMINIO	BERSVMNO	
XVIII	XVI	
CINNA	SINNA	
XII	XX	
SCODRA	SCODRA	

It will be seen that the Roman road from Narona to Scodra (the modern *Scutari d'Albania*), as given in the *Tabula*, forks at a point called Ad Zizio into two branches, one of which leads through the interior of the country to Scodra, the other runs to Epitaurum (Ragusa Vecchia), and follows thence the coast-line to Butua and Lissus (Alessio).

Hitherto, owing mainly to an expression of the Geographer of Ravenna, it has been assumed that the earlier part of this route, the route common to the two lines of communication, followed the coast-line from Narona. This conclusion I am altogether unable to accept.

Ravennas, in a confused list of Dalmatian cities, all of which, according to his statement, are on the sea-coast,[a] adds after Epitaurum, "id est: Ragusium,"

[a] Lib. iv. c. 16: "Attamen Dalmatiæ plurimas fuisse civitates legimus ex quibus aliquas designare volumus quæ ponuntur per litus maris, id est: Burzumi, Aleta, Saluntum, Butua, Decadoron, Buccinum, Rucinium, Epitaurum id est Ragusium, Asamon, Zidion, Pardua id est Stamnes, Turres, Narrona," &c.

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—"*Asamon, Zidion, Pardua, id est Stamnes, Turres, Narrona.*" The order of the names between Epitaurum and Narona shows an agreement with the *Tabula*, "Dilunto" alone being omitted, and the identification of Epitaurum with the site of Ragusa, by Ravennas' time already a famous city, being correct within a few miles, it is inferred that Ravennas is an equally good authority for the approximate identification of Pardua with "Stamnes," or Stagno, a town situate on the neck of the peninsula of Sabbioncello.

On the other hand it is equally probable that the Geographer of Ravenna, knowing the order of some of the most famous towns on the other side of the Adriatic, as they existed in his day, and knowing the connexion between Ragusa and Epitaurum (a fact which, as Ragusa Vecchia preserved the name of Pitaur to a much later date, must have been tolerably notorious), proceeded further to identify Stagno, the next modern seaport known to him, midway between Ragusa and the mouth of the Narenta, with what on the ancient chart from which he drew was the middle station between Epitaurum and Narona. Considering the grotesque blunders with which his list begins, placing "*in ipso litore maris*" three cities which lie, beyond all contestation, in the central glens of what is now Montenegro, the fact that Ravennas places Pardua, Asamon and Zidion (the AD ZIZIO of the *Tabula*), on the coast, can prove nothing as to their real position, and the situation of Stagno lying on a peninsula, off the line of any possible coast road, makes its identification with any station on the line Narona—Scodra highly improbable. Stagno derives its name from the *Stagnum* or shallow lagune of sea, whence from time immemorial salt has been obtained by evaporation. In Constantine Porphyrogenitus it appears already as *Stagnum*,[a] but there are no remains either on this site, or anywhere within miles of it, of Roman habitation.

To prove that the earlier stages of the great line Narona—Scodra lay along the Adriatic coast requires something more than a random statement of a writer like Ravennas. The *Tabula*, which from its distorted form can rarely be appealed to with confidence as to the exact direction of a road, observes in this case a judicious neutrality. The line of stations between Narona and the point of junction at Ad Zizio are represented as filling a narrow strip between the Narenta

[a] Σταγνόν. It is difficult to understand why Professor Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 36, should go out of his way to suggest a derivation for the word "Entweder aus einem vorauszusetzendem illyr. Worte *Stamen*,-*Maul, Rachen, Hals*, oder aus Gr. στενόν,—*Enge*." The mediæval Latin form *Stamnum*, like the *Stamnes* of Ravennas, is simply a corruption of *Stagnum*, and it is to be observed that these forms illustrate a Rouman characteristic, cf. Latin *Signum*, Wallachian *Semnu*, &c. The Slavonic abbreviation of the name is *Ston*.

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(which is made to run parallel to the sea from East to West)[a] and the Adriatic. The road itself is not indicated till we reach Ad Zizio. In this chart Narona itself is placed on the sea, from which in reality it was distant about fifteen miles, and it is to be observed that the name of the next station, Ad Turres, has an inland tendency.

All *à priori* considerations should make us look for the course of the great highway between Narona and Scodra inland from the beginning. The road itself ought not to be regarded as if it was a merely local line, or series of local lines constructed for the convenience of the citizens of Narona, Epitaurum, or other individual cities. The only right way of regarding it is as a section of the highly important through route connecting the great city of Salonæ with Dyrrhachium, in a still wider sense connecting Italy with Greece. The main object of the highway Narona—Scodra was to open out the shortest land route between Dalmatia and Epirus, and we may be sure that all local considerations were subordinated to this aim.

We may assume, then, that the military engineer who superintended the construction of the section Narona—Scodra endeavoured to follow as direct a line between these two cities as the physical configuration of the country admitted. A straight line from Scodra to Narona would pass through Risinium on the inmost inlet of what is now the Bocche di Cattaro, but the intervening mass of the Black Mountain, in a less degree the Lake of Scutari itself, would prevent the route from taking anything like a direct course.

The mountain mass of what is now South-Western Montenegro has, in fact, in all historical times, operated to deflect the traffic between Albania and Dalmatia (to use the geographical language of more modern times) from its direct course, and the valley of the Zeta, that leads from the lacustrine basin of Scutari to the plain of Nikšić, must in all ages have been the avenue of communication between the North-West and South-East. From Scodra, therefore, to what is now the plain of Nikšić, the course of the Roman road was dictated by physical conditions, as cogent in ancient days as they are now. So far, indeed, all who have endeavoured to trace the course of this Roman highway are agreed. Whatever its subsequent direction, it must have run from Scutari, along the eastern shores

[a] A little to the west of the Narenta mouth the Drina is made to run into the Adriatic, coalescing in some strange way with the Cettina. The promontory of Sabbioncello is not so much as indicated. On the other hand the outline of the coast and islands in the neighbourhood of Salonæ has much greater pretensions to exactness.

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of the lake between lake and mountains, it must have followed the Zeta Valley, and it must have debouched on the spacious plain of Nikšić.

As on this side we are, by all accounts, on certain ground, it may be well to take Scodra as our starting point and work backwards awhile along the shores of the lake and up the Zeta Valley to the plain of Nikšić. The position of Scodra itself lying between the river outlet of the lake and a branch of the Drin has been of considerable strategic and commercial importance in all times of which we have any record. Its rocky Acropolis, which forms the key of the whole lacustrine basin, was the royal stronghold of the most important of the Illyrian dynasties, and after its capture, together with the Illyrian king Genthios, by L. Anicius in 167 B.C., it became a Roman administrative centre and the appointed place for the *Conventus* of the native chieftains of the Labeate district. Of its intercourse with the Hellenic communities in early times a curious monument has been discovered in the neighbouring village of Gurizi, in the shape of a bronze statuette representing a female figure of archaic Greek workmanship, not unlike some of those discovered at Dodona,[a] and I have elsewhere described a new series of Illyrian coins discovered at Selci in the North Albanian Alps, which introduce us for the first time to Scodra as a free city under Macedonian hegemone.[b] On the other hand, after careful researches on the spot I have been unable to discover any such architectural or epigraphic traces as are to be found on other historic sites in Southern Illyria, at Alessio, for example, and Durazzo. On the South-western edge of the citadel peak, now known as Rosafa, there are indeed some traces of a rude wall built of huge uncemented blocks, the existing remains of which bear some resemblance to the so-called Cyclopean fragments in the foundation of the citadel walls at Alessio.[c] Excepting this, however, I was unable to obtain other relics of Scodra, Illyrian, or Roman, beyond coins and a few intagli. Among the coins, silver pieces of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia are still so abundant that they occasionally pass current along with old Ragusan and Venetian pieces in the bazaars of the modern Albanian town. An onyx gem in my possession from this site bears the legend AVSONI.

The disappearance of larger monuments on this site is no doubt due to the extraordinary deposits of alluvial matter resulting from the yearly inundations of the lake and river. So rapid is the growth of the soil owing to this cause that on the plain near Scutari I have myself seen the columns of the Turkish canopied

[a] *Revue Archéologique*, N.S. t. xxiv. p. 1, engraved pl. xv.

[b] See *Numismatic Chronicle*, N.S. vol. xx. "On some recent discoveries of Illyrian Coins."

[c] A fragment of the Alessio wall is engraved in Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 122.

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Tebés built during the last three centuries buried up to the spring of the arches that support their cupolas.

After leaving Scodra, the Roman road, the better probably to avoid the marshy tract near the borders of the lake, appears to have run for a few miles almost due north. On the spacious plain or common that opens to the north of the modern town of Scutari, which is studded with pre-historic barrows (here, unlike the stone mounds of the rockier Dalmatian region, mainly composed of earth), I have observed the remains of an ancient embanked way, now overgrown with heath and bracken, running to the West of the Kiri river and the "Venetian bridge" leading to Drivasto, almost midway between lake and mountains. In the neighbourhood of the village of Boksi the Roman road appears to have taken a westerly bend, and the distance of Cinna,[a] the first station beyond Scodra, given in the *Tabula* as twenty miles, must lead us to seek its site in the district of Hotti, where a marshy inlet of the lake juts into the mountains. I am informed by the Padre Superiore of the Franciscans that in their church at Hotti are two Roman inscriptions, and that on the neighbouring site of Helmi are the remains of a considerable ancient building which he believed to be a temple, as well as another inscription built into the house. On these remains I hope on a future occasion to be able to give a more satisfactory report.

Cinna, to be identified with the modern Helmi (an Albanian form of the Old Serbian *hulm*, a hill), bears the name of an Illyrian queen. In the mountains beyond it lay Medeon, where Anicius captured the consort and two sons of the last Scodran dynast, King Genthios. The name of this old Illyrian stronghold appears to survive in that of the hill-fortress of Medun, to the North-east of Podgorica, the mediæval *Medon*, so long the bone of contention between Montenegrin and Albanian Turk. Near Medeon, and below the heights on which its modern representative, Medun, lies, is the village of Dukle, which still preserves the name of the ancient Doklea, later *Dioclea*, the birth-place and name-giver of Diocletian. This site is rich in monuments of antiquity, amongst which was discovered an honorary dedication to the Emperor Gallienus by the Commonwealth of the Docleates.[b] It was here that the famous glass vessel, generally known as the

[a] According to the *Itinerary* of Antonine this station is only xii. miles from Scodra—probably an error for xxii. In the same way the *Itinerary* increases the distance between Cinna and Berziminium by two miles = m. p. xviii., as against xvi. in the *Tabula*. With regard to the name of the place I adopt the reading of Antonine, as being generally more correct than those of the *Tabula*, and as giving the name of an Illyrian queen. In Ptolemy it appears as Χίννα.

[b] IMP · CAES · P · LICINIO · GALLIENO || PIO · FELICI · AVG · PONT · MAX || TRIB · POT · P · P · COS · III · RES|| PVBL · DOCLEATIVM · (C. I. L. iii. 1705). The best account of the ruins on the site of Dukle is in Kovalevski,

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Vase of Podgorica, was found, engraved with typical scenes from the Old Testament by a Roman-Christian hand, explained by inscriptions which afford a most valuable indication of the provincial dialect of this part of Roman Dalmatia.[a] As a further proof of the indigenous character of this manufacture, I may mention that I have recently seen some additional fragments of late-Roman glass from this site, resembling in the style of their engraving the celebrated Vase, but without inscriptions.

Neither Doklea[b] nor Medeon appear in the *Tabula*, or Antonine, from which we may infer that they lay slightly off the main route between Scodra and Narona. In these authorities the next station is Birzinio, or Bersumno, according to Antoninus eighteen miles distant from Cinna; according to the *Tabula*, sixteen. This fits in well with the neighbourhood of Podgorica,[c] the cradle of the Nemanjas, the princely race which placed for awhile on Serbian brows the falling diadem of Diocletian and Constantine. The Roman station of Birzimi-

Četyre mêsjaca v Černogorii. (Four months in Montenegro.) St. Petersburg, 1841, pp. 81-85, cited by Jireček, *op. cit.*. There are massive remains of an aqueduct, town walls in the form of a parallelogram, columns and ruins of a temple or large building known as "Carski Dvor=the Emperor's palace," sarcophagi with bas-reliefs and Latin inscriptions. Some new inscriptions from this site have been recently communicated by Dr. Bogišić to the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*. Doklea gave its name to the Slavonic region of Dioklia, from which in the early Middle Ages the Serbs extended the name *More Dioklitijsko*, "the Dioclitian sea," to the Adriatic itself. The additional "i" of the later form of the name, *Dioclea*, is said to have been due to an endeavour to justify its etymological connexion with the name of Diocletian. But the alternative name Dioclea appears too early to justify such an artificial origin. The authority for Diocletian's birth at Dioclea is the almost contemporary Aurelius Victor, whose statement on this head is clear: "Diocletianus Dalmata, Anulini Senatoris libertinus, matre pariter atque oppido nomine Dioclea, quorum vocabulis donec imperium sumeret Diocles appellatus, ubi orbis Romani potentiam cepit Grajum nomen in Romanum morem convertit." (*Epit.* c. xxxix.) It is to be observed that Constantine Porphyrogenitus, while placing Diocletian's birth-place at Salona, makes Diocletian found Dioclea: "Τὸ κάστρον Διόκλεια τὸ νῦν παρὰ τῶν Διοκλητιανῶν κατεχόμενον ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεῦς Διοκλητιανὸς ᾠκοδόμησεν." (*De Adm. Imp.* c. 29, and cf. c. 35, where he speaks of it as being then ἐρημόκαστρον, as we should say, "a waste chester.") Ptolemy mentions a Διοκλεία (al. Δόκελα) in Phrygia; not unknown to ecclesiastical history.

[a] This vase is now in the Musée Basilewsky in Paris. It is described and illustrated by the Cav. di Rossi in the *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome, 1877, p. 77). The linguistic peculiarities of the inscriptions on it suggest interesting comparisons with the Romance survivals in the dialect of Ragusa. See p. 32, *Note*.

[b] It appears to me probable that the obscure "Diode," placed between "Lissum" and "Codras," or Scodra, in *Guidonis Geographia* (114), stands for "*Dioclea*," a hint that the name appeared under this form in some copy of the *Tabula*.

[c] The older Serbian name of Podgorica was Ribnica, still preserved by the small stream that flows beside its walls. (Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 20.) This place derived its importance as lying in the centre of the district of Zenta.

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nium would have been the point of bifurcation for the road leading to Doclea and Medeon, and its identification with the site of Podgorica fits in very well with a hint of Ravennas, that "Medione" lay in its vicinity.

It is certain that from this point the Roman road must have followed the upward ascent of the Zeta valley. The next station, Alata or Halata, the Aleta of Ptolemy and Ravennas, ten miles distant from Birziminium, would thus take us to the neighbourhood of Danilovgrad,[b] and the seventeen or eighteen miles given as the distance from this to the next station, Salluntum, brings us over the pass of Ostrog to the plain of Nikšić. It is interesting in connexion with the proved affinities between the Illyrians and the Messapians of the opposite Italian coast to note the curious parallel between the juxta-position of *Aleta* and *Salluntum* in the Dalmatian Itineraries, and the appearance of an Apulian *Aletium* in the district of the *Sallentini*.

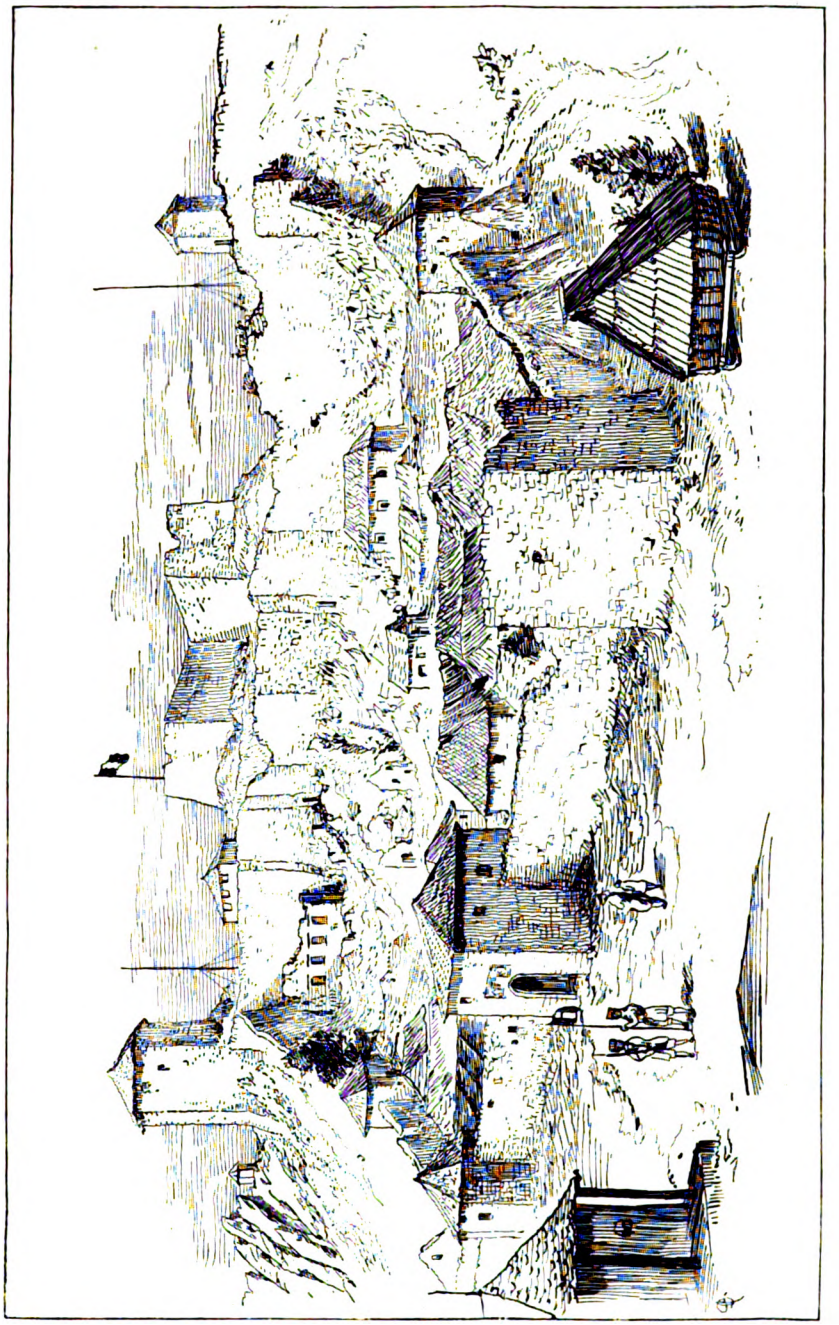
The aspect of the town of Nikšić, better known as the Onogost of Old Serbian history, is singularly Roman (Pl. III.); indeed its ground-plan (fig. 8[a]) presents the familiar outline of a Roman castrum, with square and polygonal towers at the four corners and in the centre of the side walls. This quadrilateral arrangement, however, occurs in some other Herzegovinian towns, Ljubinje, for instance, and is rather, perhaps, due to some later wave of Byzantine influence. The walls, in their present construction, are unquestionably mediæval, though it is always possible that the Old Serbian architects followed pre-existing lines.

Excepting this ground-plan, I have been unable to light upon any direct indications of the existence of a Roman Municipium on the site. Roman gems and coins, however, occur from time to time in this neighbourhood, and the importance of this central plain of Nikšić, whether as one of the most fertile spots in this part of the Dinaric Alps, or as the natural crossing-point of routes leading from East to West, and from the Bocche di Cattaro, or Rhizonic gulf, into the interior, renders it certain that it fulfilled in the Roman economy of this Illyrian tract a function at least as important as that performed by it in mediæval times. The archæological explorer in the plain of Nikšić is struck by the number of mediæval cemeteries to be met with on every side, and by the grandeur of the

[a] Geog. Ravennas, p. 211 (ed. Pinder et Parthey): "*Item juxta Burzumon est Civitas quæ dicitur Medione*," &c.

[b] Prof. Tomaschek neglects the abiding conditions of intercourse as fixed by the physical configuration of the country in seeking the site of Aleta out of the Zeta Valley: "*Vielleicht östlich von Cettinje, bei Gradac oder Uljici*," *op. cit.* p. 42. The name Aleta itself he compares with the Albanian *hel* [pl. *heljete* (*hejete*)] = a point, as of a lance, &c.

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View of the Old City, Niksić.

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, By A. J. EVANS, F.S.A.

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tombs, the sculptures of which are in this district wrought in a better style than elsewhere. These Old Serbian monuments derive both their general outline and

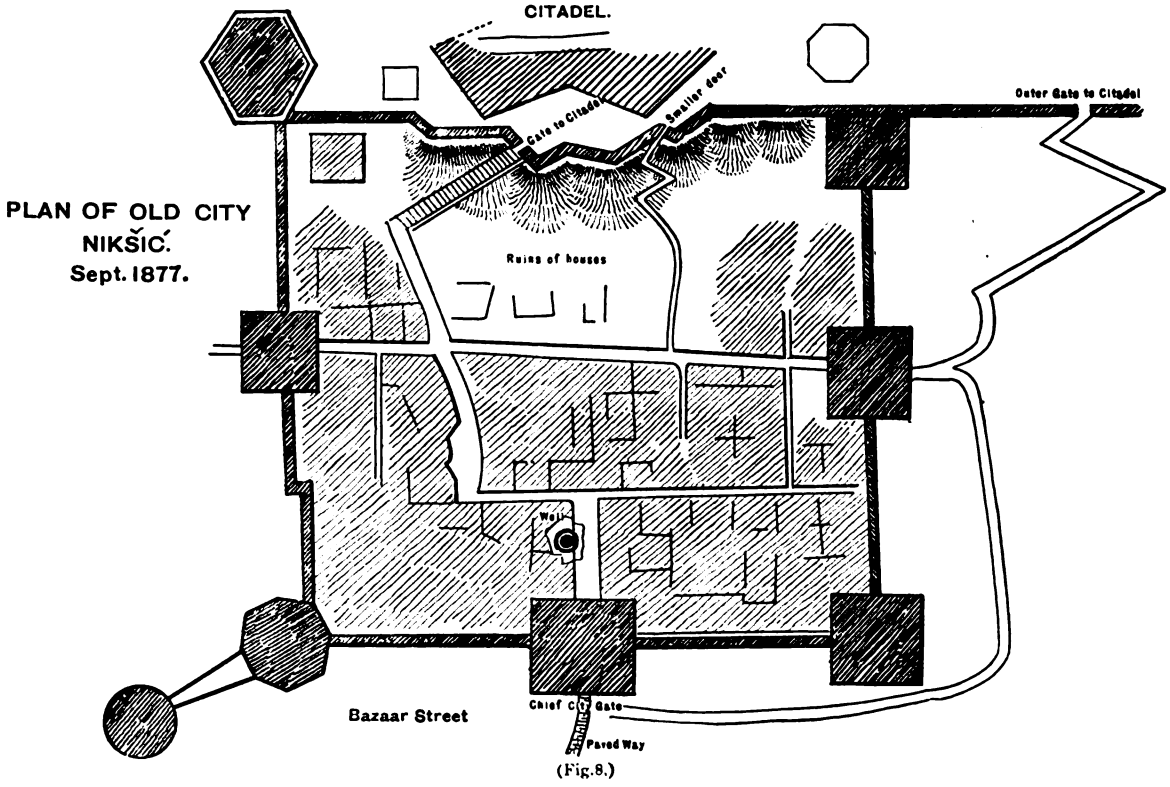


Fig. 8[a]. PLAN OF OLD CITY, NIKSIC.

their special ornamentation, notably the vine spiral, the most frequent of all, from Roman prototypes, and the excellence of the Nikšić tomb-sculptures is itself sufficient proof that those who wrought them had Roman models at hand. On a mediæval gravestone found near Nevesinje the Old Serbian sculptor has actually executed a rude copy of the symbolic Genius with reversed torch, so often seen on Roman sepulchral monuments.

Assuming that the site of the first Salluntum (another is subsequently mentioned on the same route) is to be sought on the extreme east of the Nikšić plain, perhaps even in the Gračanica valley, there would be room for the two next stations, Varis eleven miles distant, and Andarva, or Anderva, six miles further

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in the middle of the plain itself, and on its Western margin, respectively.[a] On the ground of a Montenegrin *saga*, Dr. Jireček and others have considered themselves justified in assuming that the Roman road in its onward course, from the Upper Zeta valley and the margin of the Nikšić plain, took the direction of Grahovo. According to this *saga*, as related by Vuk Karadžić,[b] three brothers fell to contending which should take with him their only sister, whereupon they set themselves three tasks. One said that he would wall in the mountains, another that he would build a church in Dioclea, the third that he would join the Cijevna and the Morača. The third brother finished his work first, but "foolish Vuk," the first, had time to build a boundary wall from the Bijela Gora (which forms the triple frontier of Dalmatia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina), four days' journey to the great mountain of Kom, which lies in the Montenegrin canton of Kući, near the Albanian border. On the strength of an assertion of the French traveller, Vialla de Sommières, this semi-mythical boundary-dyke, of which it is especially said that (unlike a Roman road) it follows the contour of the hills,[c] has been converted into a Roman road, although its whole course, as described in the *Saga*, is wholly irreconcilable with the exigencies of road engineering. In the neighbourhood of the plain of Grahovo, by which it is said to run, I have sought for it in vain, but, on the other hand, I have come upon an existing trace and a popular tradition connected with it which preserves the distinct record of a road running inland from the site of the ancient Risinium to the plain of Nikšić, and far into the interior. In dry weather a straight line, the trace of an ancient Way, is seen running straight across the Crivoscian plain of Dvrsno, from the opening of the pass which leads to Risano, the ancient Risinium, to that leading to the

[a] The attempt to identify Sallunto (ii.) with the Slansko Polje (Hoernes, *Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. p. 149), on the ground of similarity of name, is too hazardous; and the same applies to its comparison with either of the two *Slanos*. The Serbian form of the Illyro-Roman word, if directly adopted and preserved, would be *Solunat:* Tomaschek's suggested comparison with the name of the village of *Zaljut* (inadmissible on other grounds) must therefore be discarded. I would suggest the identification of this "Sallunto" with the "*Lontodocla*" in the region of Dioclia, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*op. cit.* c. 25). It might be a "*Sallunto-Docleatium*," to distinguish it from the other "Sallunto" on the same route further to the West.

[b] Lexicon, *s.v.* Vukova Megja.

[c] "Od jednoga kraja do drugoga ove megje prijekijem putem ima oko četiri dana hoda; a kad bi se išlo preko gudura i litica pored nje bilo bi mnogo više." ("From one end to the other of this boundary-wall, as you go forward, is about four days' journey; but were one to go along it through glen and over ridge it would be much further.") Vuk. *loc. cit.* This description recalls rather the up and down progress of a Roman frontier-wall, such as that from Tyne to Solway, than any Roman road.

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Montenegrin plain of Grahovo. The trace is known to the Crivoscian peasants as "St. Sava's path," and they have a tradition that it was along this route that the founder of the Serbian Church was carried to his Minster tomb at Mileševa, which lies in the Novipazar district beyond the Lim.[a] The trace itself, as well as the tradition, points to the existence of an ancient line of communication between the Rhizonic gulf, the Drina Valley, where it would join the Danubian road-system, and the route which traversed the ore-producing ranges of Dardania. The same line was still followed by the Cattarese merchants in the Middle Ages, who passed from Risano through this Crivoscian plain, then peopled by a Rouman tribe, the Vlachi Rigiani (who seem to have perpetuated the Illyro-Roman race of the ancient Risinium), thence through Grahovo to Nikšić, and thence again across the Drina to Plevlje, itself the site of the most important Roman settlement in that part of Illyricum. The natives declare that "St. Sava's path" can be traced right away to Mileševa itself. My own observations have led me to the conclusion that the "kalderym," or paved mule-track, over the mountains between Grahovo and the plain of Nikšić, runs in places along the trace of a Roman Way.

The point where this cross-line of communication between Risinium and the Drina Valley intersects the highway Scodra—Narona, which we have been pursuing, lay unquestionably in the Western angle of Nikšić plain, where, as has been shown from a measurement of distances, we must seek the city of Anderva. I have now to adduce some remarkable evidence bringing the name of this city into relation with a Roman Municipium on the Drina, and thus affording a new indication that a cross-line of Roman road, connecting Risinium with that river, cut the Dalmatian-Epirote highway at this spot.

The ancient track already mentioned, running from Risano and the Bocche di Cattaro to the plain of Nikšić, and which for practical purposes may be identified with the Roman road-line, is continued across the plain and through the long Duga Pass, so often the scene of combat between Turk and Montenegrin, to the plain of Gacko, where it meets another ancient route, running from the site of Epitaurum and the later Ragusa, of which more will be said. From this point both routes unite and are prolonged across the wild Čemerno ranges to Foča, in the Drina Valley, and the important bridge-town of Gorazda, where this Adriatic line meets

[a] This, of course, is historically impossible, as St. Sava died at Tirnovo, in Bulgaria, and must therefore have been carried to Mileševo from the East.

[b] Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen*, sect. 11. *Von Cattaro nach Plevlje* (p. 72).

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the cross-line of communication between the upper valley of the Bosna, the Lim, and the ore-bearing ranges of Old Serbia,—in other words, the ancient route connecting Salonæ with the *Metalla Dalmatica* and *Argentaria*.

At Gorazda Dr. Hoernes [a] had already observed a *sarcophagus* with an obliterated inscription. During a recent visit to this place I found, near the old bridge over the Drina, several more ancient fragments, and amongst them a bas-relief of an eagle, in a rude style but of Roman origin, carved on a porphyritic marble, which was much used by the Roman masons and sculptors of Plevlje, the next important Roman site to the south-east of Gorazda. Walled into the apse of the Orthodox church, a foundation of Duke Stephen, from whom Herzegovina derives its name, and which lies on the banks of the Drina a little below the present town, I was so fortunate as to discover two Roman inscriptions. When

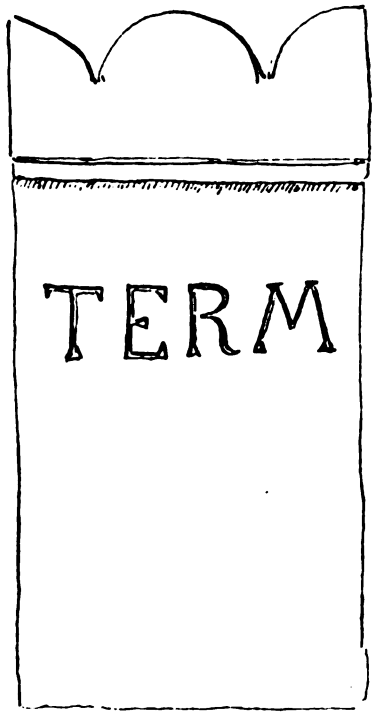


Fig. 9ª. ROMAN MONUMENT.
Gorazda, Bosnia.

I first saw them they were almost wholly covered with a coating of plaster, which however, with the aid of the priest, I succeeded to a great extent in removing.

[a] *Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. ii. (in *Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* vol. iv. p. 47).

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The first was apparently a part of an altar with the inscription TERM, perhaps originally a boundary altar, marking the limits of the municipal *Ager* (fig. 9[a]).

The other monument formed a portion of a larger slab, containing a dedication, probably of a temple, to *Jupiter Optimus Maximus Cohortalis* (fig. 10[a]), to whom a dedicatory inscription has also been found at Narona.[a]



Fig. 10[a]. ROMAN MONUMENT REFERRING TO THE ANDARVANI.
Gorazda, Bosnia.

The part preserved of the second line probably records the share taken in the dedication by a *Decurio* of the MVNICIPIVM ANDARVANORVM, about which latter name there is no room for doubt. Andarva, or Anderva itself, lying as it did on the main-line of road between Scodra and Narona, cannot by any possibility be sought so far inland as Gorazda; but the occurrence of the name of the Andarvani on a monument at Gorazda is of value, as indicating a direct road-connexion between it and the plain of Nikšić, where we have to seek the ancient site of Andarva.[b]

The plain of Nikšić, then, in Roman times was in all probability the point of intersection of two important thoroughfares, one leading from Scodra and the

[a] C. I. L. iii. 1782, I · O · M ‖ CHOR ‖ TALI. In the present inscription the H of CHOR(TALI) is obliterated, but doubtless was originally contained within the C.

[b] It seems to me probable that this line Nikšić—Gacko—Gorazda is indicated by the Geographer of Ravenna, who refers to a line of stations, "*Sapua—Bersellum—Ibisua—Derva—Citua—Anderba.*"

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Epirote cities to the great Dalmatian emporia of Narona and Salonæ; the other connecting the coast-city, which gave its name to the Rhizonic gulf, with the mining centres of the old Dalmatian interior, and the Danubian provinces. From this central plain, pursuing the route towards Narona, we find the physical obstacles by no means so great as those that then deflected the route from Scodra to Nikšić. Hence, it follows that a straight line drawn from the centre of the plain of Nikšić to the site of Narona may give some idea of the general direction of the Roman Way in this part of its course. A glance at the map discloses the fact that, if we now start from Narona, a line so drawn, so far from approaching the sea at any point, inclines further and further inland from that city to the plain of Nikšić. On the other hand, it will be observed that this ideal line passes either through or in close proximity to sites which in mediæval and modern times have been at once the chief centres of habitation, and the principal strategic points in this part of the Dinaric interior.

It passes within a few miles of the very important position of Stolac, where Roman remains and inscriptions indicating the former existence of a Municipium have recently been discovered. The distance of Stolac from the site of Narona answers almost exactly to the xx m.p. given by the *Itinerary* of Antonine as the distance from Narona to the next station on this side, important enough to be mentioned by that authority—Dallunto, the Dilunto of the *Tabula*. The continued importance of Diluntum is attested by the appearance of the Municipium Diluntinum—or, as it appears there, "Delontino"—in the Acts of the Council held at Salonæ in 532 A.D. It is there mentioned along with the Municipium Novense (the site of which, as we have seen, lay at Runović, near Imoski), and an obscure Municipium Stantinum, as having a Christian *Basilica*, placed under the charge of the bishop of the inland Dalmatian town of Sarsenterum.[a]

At the village of Tassovčić,[b] lying in the Narenta valley, between Stolac and Narona, are ancient columns and other remains, and the position answers well to that of Ad Turres, the intermediate station between Narona and Diluntum.

Assuming the identification of Stolac with Diluntum to be correct, the course of the natural route towards Nikšić leads us to seek for the next station, Pardua,

[a] *Acta Concilii II. Salonitani*, in Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173. The identification of *Stantinum* with Stagno, urged by Dr. Hoernes on the strength of the existence of the later *Župa Stantania* from *Ston*, the Slavonic form of Stagno, is hardly admissible, since the Acts of this Council of Salona show as yet no trace of Slavonic settlement or nomenclature in that part of Dalmatia which they concern.

[b] I have referred to these in my work on Bosnia (2nd ed. p. 361), where, however, Tassovčić is wrongly printed Tassorić.

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fourteen miles distant, in the plain of Dabar, a district—as its Old Serbian monuments show—the scene of some commercial prosperity in the Middle Ages.[a] The next station, "Ad Zizio" (sixteen miles), where, according to the *Tabula*, the junction line to Epitaurum branched off, would thus lie in the neighbourhood of Bilek. The two stations, "Leusinio," m.p. viii. and "Sallunto," m.p. xii. that occur between this and Andarva, which all authorities agree in placing on the plain of Nikšić, should be sought, according to this calculation, in the passes of Banjani.

We have only now to deal with the objection already alluded to, that, according to the Geographer of Ravenna, the earlier stages of the route Narona—Scodra ran along the Adriatic coast. Something has been said already on Ravenna's identification of Pardua with "Stamnes," or Stagno; it may, however, be well to point out how absolutely his statement on this head is at variance with the more trustworthy data supplied by the *Tabula* and the *Itinerary* of Antonine. If the distances given in those two authorities are to be even approximately observed, it is impossible that the five stations between Narona and Epitaurum, or even four out of the five, lay along the sea-coast. The distance to be traversed by road between Epitaurum and Narona is, according to the *Tabula*, 112 miles; the actual distance along the coast is about 55. It is impossible, as Dr. Hoernes admits, to make up this disparity of two to one from the bends of the road, and he draws the conclusion, that it is better to set aside the distances in the *Tabula* altogether.

But the distances given in the *Tabula* are the best guides we have. As a whole, they square well with the distances given in the *Itinerary*, and with the general statement of Pliny, that Epitaurum was 100 miles distant from Narona. Moreover, the general correctness of our two authorities in what regarded the section Salonæ—Narona gives us just grounds for believing that they are still to be relied on in the section Narona—Scodra.

When we find the distance, Epitaurum—Narona, *viâ* the junction to Ad Zizio, is over twice the length of the coast line between the two, the natural inference is that the junction station of Ad Zizio is to be sought considerably in the interior, and that the angle formed by the two lines Narona—Ad Zizio and Epitaurum—Ad Zizio must approach a right angle.

[a] The name *Dabar* suggests a connexion with the important tribe of the *Daversi* or *Daorsi*, who inhabited the ranges East of the Narenta at the time of the Roman Conquest. In the Romance dialect of Dalmatia (as exemplified by its surviving remnants in that of Ragusa), *v* is changed to *b*.

[b] Though the *Itinerary* of Antonine seems to give us authority for striking off 10 m. between Dilunto and Narona, see p. 79.

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What has been said already here specially applies. The road Narona—Scodra was not made to suit the convenience of the inhabitants of Epitaurum. That the road Narona—Scodra made a détour to the coast of at least 35 miles to suit the convenience of any more obscure coast-city is a still less admissible hypothesis. As a matter of fact, the communications between Epitaurum and the great emporium of the Narenta must have been almost exclusively maritime, the land journey being restricted to the single mile across the peninsula of Stagno. The traffic between Ragusa, the modern representative of Epitaurum, and Metcovich, the modern representative of Narona, runs at the present day almost entirely by sea and river, and, in ancient days, when the whole coasting traffic of the Adriatic ran along the Dalmatian shore, the communication between the two cities would have been as exclusively maritime.

To Epitaurum, as to Ragusa, the value of a road must have depended on the extent to which it opened out its communications with the centres of habitation, in the Alpine interior, with what are now the upland plains of Trebinje, Gacko, Nikšić, and Nevesinje, in a still higher degree with the valley of the Drina beyond. The great caravan route, by which in mediæval times the merchandise of the West left the Adriatic coast for the furthest East, ran from Ragusa, the local successor of Epitaurum, straight inland over the interior ranges, past Trebinje and Gacko, to the valley of the Drina. It is highly probable that, as in the case of Cattaro already cited, this mediæval caravan route represents a very ancient line of communication between the Drina valley and its Adriatic outlet. In the course of many journeys among the Dalmatian and Herzegovinian ranges a phenomenon has been repeatedly observed by me, nowhere more than in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, which seems to prove that the mule tracks leading from the coast into the interior are often of high antiquity. The course of these hoof-worn mountain tracks is very often literally mapped out by a succession of prehistoric barrows belonging to the Illyrian Bronze Age, which persistently follow the course of the route. That the Roman road should have taken the same general direction as this ancient line of traffic between the Adriatic port and the Drina may be reasonably inferred, though, no doubt, its course was straighter than the actual route followed by the indigenes.

We will now turn to the evidence afforded by existing Roman remains. At Klek and Ranjevo Selo, near the southern mouth of the Narenta, have been found three Roman sepulchral inscriptions relating to private individuals.* Along the whole

* C. I. L. iii. 1763, 1764, 1765.

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coast of the Raguseo, however, from Stagno to the site of Epitaurum, with the exception of a single sepulchral inscription found near Slano[a] of the same unimportant character as the last, absolutely no relics of Roman habitation have been brought to light. Carefully as I have myself examined this coast line I have neither been able to discover any new inscriptions nor to find any traces of a Roman road. It must be remembered, moreover, that this maritime strip, unlike the wilder tracks of the Herzegovinian interior, has been for centuries under antiquarian observation. It has formed a part of what, to the beginning of the present century, was the highly civilised Republic of Ragusa, the birthplace of Banduri, and the Roman remains of which had already been made a subject of research by Aldus Manutius in the early days of the Renascence. And yet, despite this prolonged antiquarian scrutiny, the remains of the Roman towns and stations that we are told to look for in the neighbourhood of Stagno, in the bay of Malfi, the valley of Ombla, or on the site of Ragusa itself, are absolutely non-apparent.

The absence of such remains along the coast, and the general considerations already enumerated, had long forced me to the conclusion that the Roman road communication between Epitaurum and Narona ran inland and not along the coast. In this conclusion I was strengthened by observing on the flank of the mountain above the village of Plat, about three miles from the site of Epitaurum, the distinct trace of an ancient road running from the direction of Ragusa Vecchia towards a rocky *col* leading into the interior in the direction of Trebinje. Owing to the accumulation of talus on the platform of the road in the lapse of ages, the surface is concealed from view, and indeed it is best traced by looking at it from a hill a mile distant; but the arrow-like directness of its course at once proclaims its Roman origin[b]. In general appearance this talus-hidden track much resembles the track of the Roman road already described by me as running along the limestone steeps above the sea in the direction of the ancient city of Risinium.

[a] C. I. L. iii. 1761.

[b] The traces of the Roman road above Plat are doubtless the same as those observed by Dr. Constantin Jireček in the neighbourhood of Ragusa Vecchia. (*Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, p. 8.) Dr. Jireček observes that the "via vetus quæ vocatur via regis" is mentioned in the Ragusan Catasters of the fourteenth century, and supposes, with great probability, that its Slavonic name was "*Carski Put*," "Cæsar's Way," a name by which Roman roads were generally known to Serbs and Bulgars in the Middle Ages, and answering to the Byzantine ὁδὸς βασιλική. In 1880 I took Dr. Hoernes to visit the traces, and his impression of their appearance as recorded by him (*Römische Alterthümer in Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, vol. i. p. 2) agrees entirely with my own.

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The wild limestone ranges amongst which the trace of the Roman way above Epitaurum is seen to lose itself, pursuing when last discernible a North-Easterly direction, are known by the general name of Drinji Planina. Inland to the north of this mountain mass opens the well-watered valley of the Trebinjčica, on which stands the old Herzegovinian city of Trebinje. It was whilst exploring this district that I came upon a more important clue. About two miles and a-half south of Trebinje, a tributary inlet of the main valley opens into the mountains that lie between that city and Ragusa Vecchia. This plain, known from its liability to inundation as the Mokro Polje, or "wet plain," presents an elongated form, and its major axis, if produced, would exactly connect the present site of Trebinje with the former site of Epitaurum.

Whilst examining a curious earthen mound in the centre of the spacious Mokro Polje, about one hour from Trebinje, I observed a rounded block of stone (fig. 11ª), about two and a-half feet in length, lying in some bushes at its base. Its form

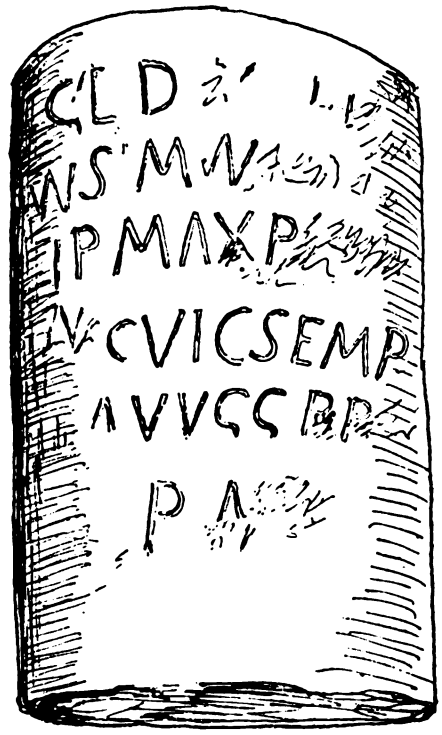


Fig. 11ª. ROMAN MILESTONE.
Mokro Polje.

leading me to suspect that it might be a Roman milestone, I turned it over and discovered on the formerly buried side distinct traces of a Roman inscription,

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which proved that my conjecture had been correct. The letters were unfortunately much weather-worn, and the copy which I am able to give, though the result of six separate visits to the spot, and careful collations of the inscription in all lights, is still far from satisfactory.

The titles "Vic(toriosissimi) Semp(er) Aug(usti)," which form the most legible part of the inscription, at once enable us to assign to it a fourth-century date. The latter part may, perhaps, be restored:—

PRINC)IP MAX P(*EREN*)
N (A)C VIC SEMP
(A) A V V G G B . R . P . N

i.e. (Prin(cip(es) max(imi) p(eren)n(es) a)c Vic(toriosissimi) semp(er) Aug(usti) B(ono) r(ei)p(ublicæ) n(ati). The style thus elucidated agrees very well with the age of Valens and Valentinian, and it is possible that the work of road restoration begun in Dalmatia under Julian (as may be learnt from milliary inscriptions found at Narona, Zara, and elsewhere)[a] was continued under his successors. The imperfect preservation of the earlier part of the inscription prevents us from determining the names of the Emperors under whom this monument was raised, but the (A)AVVGG implies, according to the usage of the time, that two Augusti were then reigning.

Examining now the spot with a view to lighting on the traces of the road itself, the propinquity of which the milestone indicated, I was gratified with the sight of a slightly raised causeway running with arrow-like straightness across the plain, almost from north to south. On further inspection this proved to be the remains of an ancient road about seven paces wide, flanked by two small lateral ditches; and, as was to be expected from the nature of the soil, constructed of small fragments of grey limestone. In places it was extremely perfect, and presented a characteristic Roman section. Towards the middle it was slightly raised, and its sides were contained and supported by two low walls of massive well-cut masonry, with a slight inward slope (figs. 12[a], 13[a]).

Southwards the track ran from the neighbourhood of the mound by which the fourth-century milestone lay straight and clear across the plain to an angle of mountain which concealed Trebinje from view. In places a modern path runs along the top of the embankment. Elsewhere it is accompanied by a mediæval paved

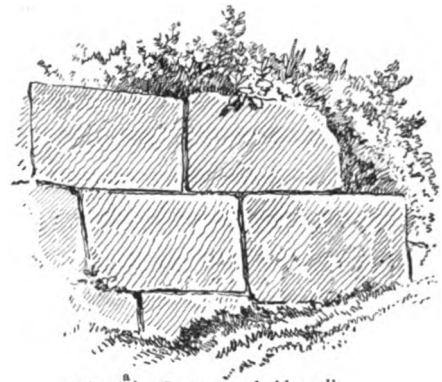
[a] C. I. L. iii. 3207, 3208, 3209, 3211. The title given to Julian on these is "Victor ac triumfator totiusque orbis Augustus, bono reipublicæ natus."

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way, or Turkish *kalderym*, quite distinct from the Roman work in character; and, finally, the roadline is prolonged, as so frequently in Britain, by a continuous line of hedgerow, reminding me of a "long hedge" on the Akeman Street.



(Fig. 12[a]) *Section of Roman Way across Mokro Polje.*



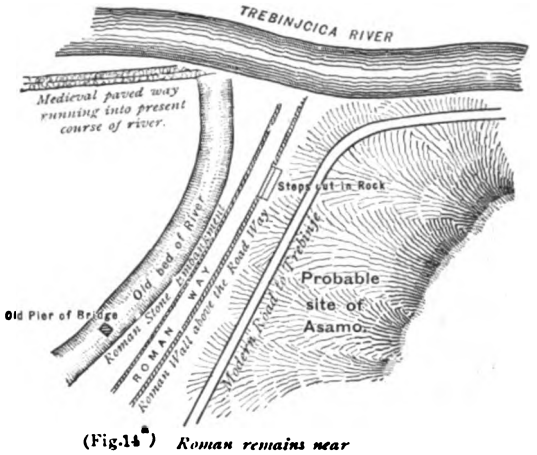
(Fig. 13[a]) *Fragment of side-wall supporting road-way.*

A little way beyond the small church of St. Pantaleon, which belongs to the village of Ćičevo, and nearing the mountain promontory already mentioned, the traces of the road become still more distinct. An old bed of the Trebinje river, along which its current must have flowed in Roman times, is here perceptible, taking a considerable bend southwards. Along this bend, in the narrow strip between the former channel of the river and the mountain steep, and just below the modern road, the old road-line forms a clear-cut terrace, banked up on the side of the former river-bed by a wall of well-cut stone blocks, of undoubtedly Roman construction. From fragments of this stone embankment a later dam, which also serves as a footway, has been built in a rough fashion across a marshy part of the old channel, and at this point may be seen the remains of a pier of older masonry, which seems to have been the land abutment of a Roman bridge across the former course of the Trebinjčica (fig. 14[a]).

A little below this appear other distinct traces of Roman work. On the steep above the track of the Roman road, and leading out of it, a flight of steps seven paces in width has been hewn, like so many street steps on the site of Epitaurum, out of the solid rock. These steps, of which only the first two or three are at present traceable, seem to show that at this point a considerable street mounted what is at present the bare limestone steep; and, taken in connexion with the traces of a Roman wall, here visible above the ancient road, as well as the stone embankment and bridge-pier below, lead us to seek for the Roman station which was the local predecessor of Trebinje rather in this vicinity than at Trebinje itself, where, so far as my observation goes, no Roman remains are to be found.

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The neighbouring village of Čičevo occupies the pleasantest and most fertile angle of the Mokro Polje, and Roman coins are not unfrequently discovered in



(Fig. 14[a]) *Roman remains near Trebinje River.*

the neighbouring fields.[a] It is, in fact, inherently probable that the Roman station should have been built terrace-fashion on the rocky steeps that flank the plain rather than on the "wet plain" itself. The fact that the Roman road across the Mokro Polje runs throughout on a low embankment shows that in ancient times, as at present, it was liable to floods; and though the periodical inundation, due mainly to the welling-up of the water, from rock reservoirs below the surface, is at present mostly confined to the southern part of the plain, it is probable that, in Roman times, when the mountains were more wooded, and the rainfall consequently greater, it was subject to floods throughout its length.

Beyond the old bed of the Trebinjčica the traces of the road disappear, destroyed in all probability by its alluvial deposits, and still more by the constant tendency that it shows in this part of its course to shift its channel, a tendency illustrated only a short distance beyond the last traces of the Roman road by the disappearance in its waters of a *kalderym*, or paved way, that apparently at no remote date followed its bank.

Having traced the Roman road northwards to the banks of the Trebinje river and the apparent site of a Roman station, I will return to the mound by which the milestone lay, as a starting-point for exploring its southward course.

Near this point there are apparent traces of the beginning of a branch line of road leading towards the modern hamlet of Bugovina, whence it probably ascended an intervening range into the plain of Zubci, and reached, by a pass

[a] I have a *denarius* of the Empress Lucilla from this site, with the reverse legend IVNONI LVCINAE.

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already alluded to, the site of the Roman station that appears to have existed in the plain of Canali midway between Epitaurum and the Rhizonic gulf.

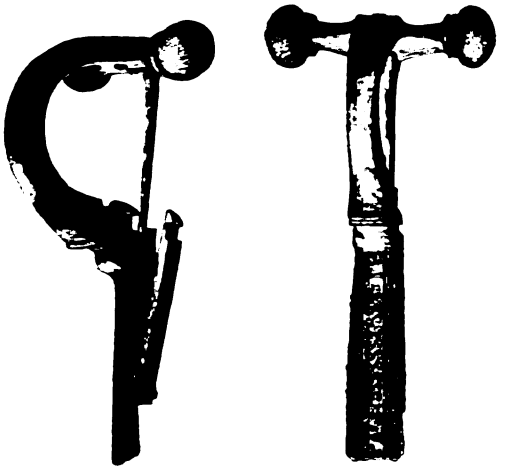
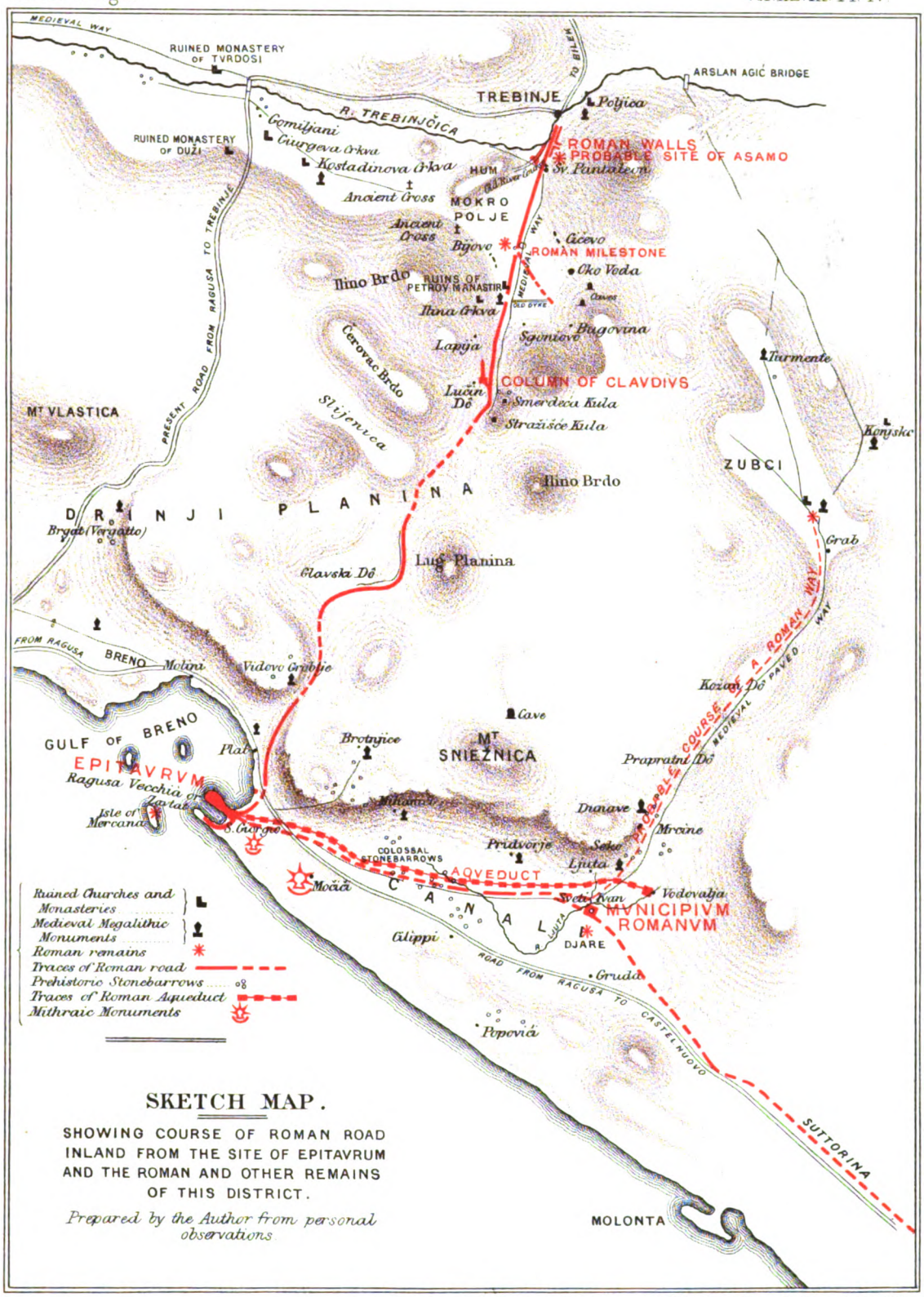


Fig. 14*. FIBULA FROM ZUBCI.

From Zubci I obtained a Roman *fibula* or safety-pin of very remarkable form (see fig. 14*). It will be observed that the groove in which the pin itself catches is provided with a hinged lid, so as to keep the pin doubly secure, and the appearance of another groove above the hinged lid shows that this in turn was made fast by a small bolt or catch. As an example of an improved Roman safety-pin this *fibula*, so far as I am aware, is altogether unique, and the invention may be reasonably set to the credit of local, probably Epitaurian or Risinian, manufacture.

To return to the main road. The course of the Roman Way to the south continues so far as the plain extends with the same arrow-like directness as before (see sketch map Pl. III.), leaving on the right, less than a mile distant from the milestone mound, the mediæval ruins of an Old Serbian Minster dedicated to St. Peter—Petrov Manastir—the foundation of which I found ascribed by local saga, amongst others, to "Czar Duklijan"—the Emperor Diocletian! From this spot the trace of the Roman Way makes straight for a defile in the range already referred to, that separates the Mokro Polje from the Adriatic haven where Epitaurum formerly stood. Observing the point in the mountains to which the ancient roadway tended, I inquired of a party of peasants whom I found working in the fields near to where the milestone lay whether there was not another stone like it in that direction. All shook their heads, but at last an old Mahometan answered that there certainly was a rock known as "the round stone" (*Obli Kamen*) in the direction I had indicated, and, finally, for a consideration, consented to guide me to the spot. Three-quarters of an hour's walk brought us to a rocky eminence at the entrance of the defile (which is known as Lučin Dô), commanding a full view of the long Mokro Polje, and here, after a prolonged hunt among the brushwood, my guide hit upon a large cylindrical fragment, partly imbedded in the soil, which turned out to be the "round stone" we were seeking. It lay not far from the present mule-path between Trebinje and Ragusa Vecchia, which here follows more or less accurately the course of the Roman Way.

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SKETCH MAP.

SHOWING COURSE OF ROMAN ROAD INLAND FROM THE SITE OF EPITAVRUM AND THE ROMAN AND OTHER REMAINS OF THIS DISTRICT.

Prepared by the Author from personal observations.

C. F. Kell Lith. 8 Castle St. Holborn London. E.C.

ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM, BY A. J. EVANS, F.S.A.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1883.

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The "round stone" proved to be part of a larger monument, other portions of which I presently discovered in the bushes near. The first discovered fragment was 81 inches in length, exhibiting at what was its upper end a circular section 25½ inches in diameter, but which took the shape at its lower end of an ellipse 28½ inches by 25½ inches, thus presenting a slightly-tapering outline, showing it to have formed part of a somewhat obelisk-like column. At its larger elliptical end lay a huge fragment of its square base.

A few feet off lay a smaller fragment, which appeared to be the top of the column. Upon this was an inscription giving the name and titles of the Emperor Claudius, engraved in letters nearly three inches high, so as to be legible from a considerable distance (fig. 15ª). The central portion of the inscription was broken away, but from a calculation of the letter space at our disposal it can be restored with sufficient certainty.

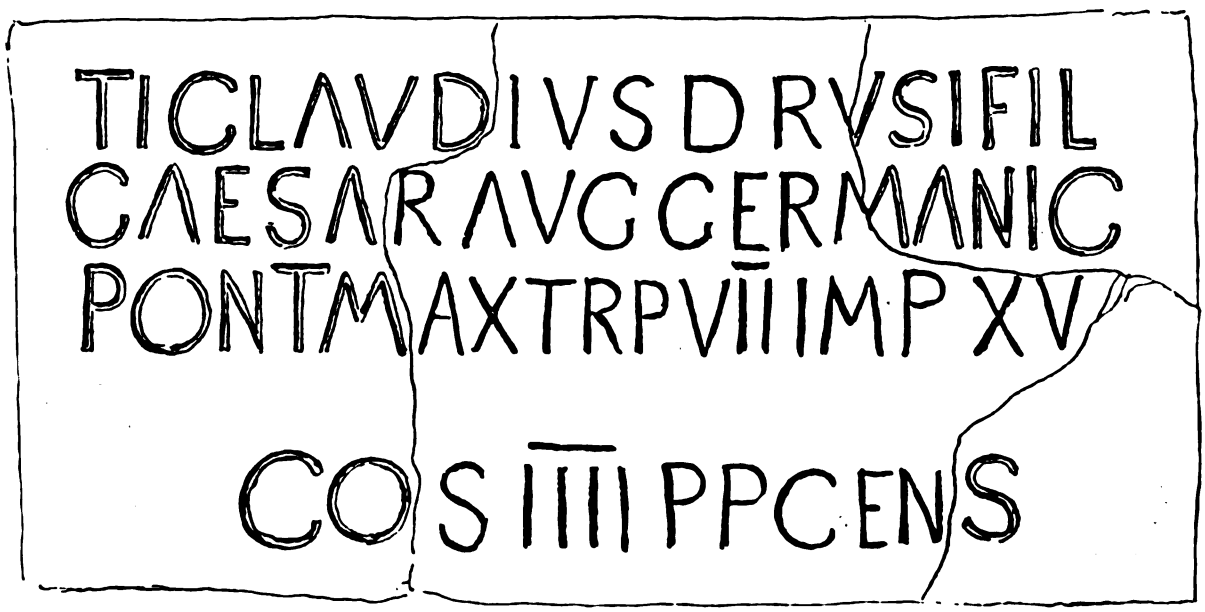


Fig. 15ª. Milliary Column of Claudius.
Lučin Dô.

Ti*berius* CLAVDIVS, DRVSI FIL*ius*, CAESAR AVG*ustus*, GERMANIC*us*,
PONT*ifex* MAX*imus*, TR*ibunicia* POT*estate* VIII IMPERATOR XV,
CO*nsul* IIII, P*ater* P*atriæ*, CENS*or*.

The date of the inscription would thus be 47-48 A.D. The column itself is unquestionably of the milliary kind, and, though the continuation of the inscription recording the mileage from Epitaurum or elsewhere has unfortunately perished,

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the mention of the name and titles of Claudius shows that, in all probability, this road connecting Epitaurum with the interior was completed under his auspices. It would thus appear that this Emperor, by the hands of his legates, continued the work of road-making through the Dalmatian Alps, so worthily begun by Dolabella under his predecessor Tiberius. The date of this Claudian column, which must certainly have recorded no mean achievement of Roman engineering, almost synchronises (if the numbers supplied be correct) with the opening of the *Via Claudia Augusta*, leading from the mouth of the Po, over the Brenner Pass, to the banks of the Upper Danube, the construction of which had been directed by Drusus, but which was finally completed by his son in 47 A.D.[a] It would appear that in Upper as well as in Lower Illyricum Claudius cemented the conquests of his father and predecessor by completing another great line of Roman road, this time leading from the Adriatic to the Drina and the Middle-Danubian system. The still-existing tribute of the cities of Upper Illyricum to Dolabella would lead us to believe that this, like so many other Dalmatian roads, owed its first beginnings to the energetic provincial Governor of Tiberius.

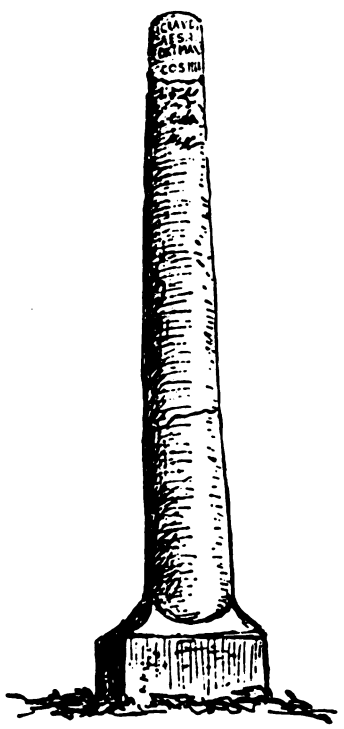


Fig. 16[a]. COLUMN OF CLAUDIUS. (Restored.)

The diameter of the summit of this inscribed fragment, the section of which was circular, was just twelve inches; the lower part of it was too much broken to enable an exact measurement to be taken. Assuming that the column or obelisk, after taking its circular form, continued to diminish in the ratio of about six inches to every 80, indicated by the first discovered fragment, the whole must have stood originally about 20 feet high, excluding the base, which may have added another three feet above the ground level. When perfect the monument would have presented an imposing appearance, and from its conspicuous site must have been visible for miles (fig. 16[a]).

[a] The construction of this road is recorded on a milliary column found at Feltria (C. I. L. v. 8002): TI · CLAVDIVS · DRVSI · F ‖ CAESAR · AVG · GERMA‖NICVS · PONTIFEX · MAXV‖MVS · TRIBVNICIA · POTESTA‖TE · VI. COS. IV. IMP XI P. P. ‖ CENSOR · VIAM · CLAVDIAM ‖ AVGVSTAM · QVAM · DRVSVS ‖ PATER · ALPIBVS BELLO PATE ‖ FACTIS · DEREXERAT · MVNIT · AB ‖ ALTINO · VSQVE · AD · FLVMEN ‖ DANVVIVM · M. P. CCCL. Another similar was found at Meran (C. I. L. v. 8003).

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Near the remains of this larger column were fragments apparently of two lesser monuments of the same kind, the basis or part of the shaft of one being still fixed in the soil. In all I counted seven cylindrical fragments, but, although I excavated the half-buried fragments and repeatedly explored the spot, I did not succeed in bringing to light any fresh inscription.

Following the later mule-track which leads from the Mokro Polje past "the round stone," and across the mountains to the Gulf of Breno and the peninsular site of the ancient Epitaurum, now Ragusa Vecchia, I came here and there on distinct terraces along the mountain side, which evidently mark the continued course of the Roman road-line. These traces were most apparent below the Turkish Kula or watch-tower of Smerdeća, on the flanks of the Lug Planina, and again at Glavski Dô, where a considerable *kalderym* follows apparently the old trace. Beyond this point the remains may be traced uninterruptedly till they join the trace of the Roman road, which myself and others had already observed running along the mountain side above the village of Plat and the Gulf of Breno. Thence it descended to Obod and the spot where the memorial monument was discovered dedicated to Dolabella, the Road-Maker, by the grateful cities of Upper Illyricum, and past the cliffs which served as Roman gravestones, to Epitaurum itself.

From the column of Claudius to Ragusa Vecchia may be reckoned four hours of difficult progress by the present mule-paths, and, considering the ruggedness of the country, the Roman road must have made still greater bends in traversing these *Planinas*. The distance as the crow flies is barely eight miles, but the distance by the Roman road could hardly have been under 15 miles. If we now add to this an additional five miles as the distance between the "round stone" of Claudius and the remains on the Trebinjčica, which apparently indicate the former existence of a Roman station, we arrive within a mile of the xx m.p. given in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the distance between Epitaurum and Asamo, the intermediate station on the junction-line Ad Zizium—Epitaurum. *Asamus* appears elsewhere in Illyricum as a river-name, being the ancient form of the Bulgarian river Osma. Judging therefore from the name alone, we should naturally look for the site of *Asamo* on a river.

The discovery of an important line of Roman road (as its monuments show), running inland from Epitaurum, and the identification of the Roman remains on the Trebinjčica with the ancient "Asamo," give us at once a new starting-point for our investigation. The conclusion which I had already arrived at on other grounds, that the junction-line connecting Epitaurum with the main line of com-

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munication Narona—Scodra, ran through the interior of the country, and not along the coast, as hitherto believed, is placed on something more than a theoretic basis.

Assuming that the course of the Roman road across the Mokro Polje gives at least an approximate indication of its subsequent route over the ranges beyond the Trebinje river, the station of "Ad Zizio," marked as the point of junction between the Epitaurum road and the main line from Narona, and placed 28 miles distant from "Asamo," should be sought in the district of Rudine, beyond the Herzegovinian town of Bilek, in the district that is, in which, from independent considerations, I had been already led to seek it. I am informed by an engineer who had to do with a modern road in that district (although circumstances have prevented my verifying his statement) that traces of an ancient embanked way, distinct in structure from the Turkish *kalderyms*, and believed by him from the directness of its course to be Roman, are to be seen leading from near Bilek, past Korita and Crnica and across the plain of Gacko, in a Northerly direction. The existence of this ancient trace greatly supports the view already advanced that the junction-line from Epitaurum continues to pursue the same general direction after leaving "Asamo"; and corroborates the opinion that the real usefulness of the line from Epitaurum to "Ad Zizio" was not so much as affording a practicable avenue of land communication with Narona, but rather as forming a section of an independent road-line, the further course of which is clearly marked by the ancient embanked way across the plain of Gacko, connecting the Adriatic haven with the Drina Valley and the Danubian system, and which, further inland, coalesced with the line already indicated, that brought Risinium into the same connexion.

In the valley of the Drina this Adriatic route would intersect another main-line of thoroughfare between West and East, that, namely, which brought Salonæ into communication with the ore-bearing ranges of what in the Middle Ages formed the cradle of the Rascian kingdom, and, ultimately, with the Macedonian valleys. Of the Roman remains along this route I hope to speak in a succeeding paper; meanwhile, it is interesting to reflect in connexion with the Roman road from Epitaurum with the interior that, when centuries later its local successor, the Republic of Ragusa, took the lead in opening up anew the re-barbarized midlands of Illyria to commerce and civilization, her caravans passed along a line identical throughout the greater part of its extent with that of the Roman Way. So close, indeed, is the parallel, that the Itinerary of the Venetian Ramberti, who in 1533 passed along this Ragusan overland route to Con-

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stantinople, may serve to indicate the probable position of some of the Roman stations.[a] His first night station after leaving Ragusa by a rough mountain track was Trebinje, sixteen miles distant, near which, as we have seen, was the ancient Asamo, 20 m.p. according to the *Tabula* from Epitaurum. His next station, twenty miles, is Rudine, the very district in which we have been enabled to place the site of Ad Zizio. "Curita" (Korito) and "Cervice" (Crnica),[b] the next two stations mentioned, are still on the trace of the Roman road. In all, from Ragusa to the Drina was then five days' journey.

Thus it was that in days when Ragusa stood forth as the successful rival of Venice in the Balkan lands, her caravans that transported the products of Italian industry overland to the shores of the Black Sea and to the furthest East, and bore in return the silk of Tartary, the spices of India and Arabia, together with the silver ore of the Serbian mountains, to be transhipped to Venice and Ancona and transported to the markets of Florence and the West, passed along a route which had been opened out by Roman engineers over a thousand years before to their forefathers of Epitaurum, under the auspices, as we now know, of the son of Drusus.

[a] Ramberti, *Delle cose de Turchi, Libri tre, Nel primo, il viaggio da Venetia à Costantinopoli*, &c. p. 5, (In Vinezia, nell' anno M.D. XXXXI. In casa di Maestro Bernardin Milanese.)

[b] Mentioned already in 1380 as the site of a Ragusan customs station and small commercial colony. (*Liber Reformationum Majoris, Minoris, et Rogatorum Consiliorum, Civitatis Ragusii.* Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 75.)

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ANTIQUARIAN

RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

(PARTS III. AND IV.)

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A.

WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS, 25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

1885.

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FROM

THE ARCHAEOLOGIA,

VOL. XLIX.

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ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

III.—NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINE FROM SALONÆ TO SCUPI, AND ON THE MUNICIPAL SITES AND MINING CENTRES IN THE OLD DALMATIAN AND DARDANIAN RANGES.

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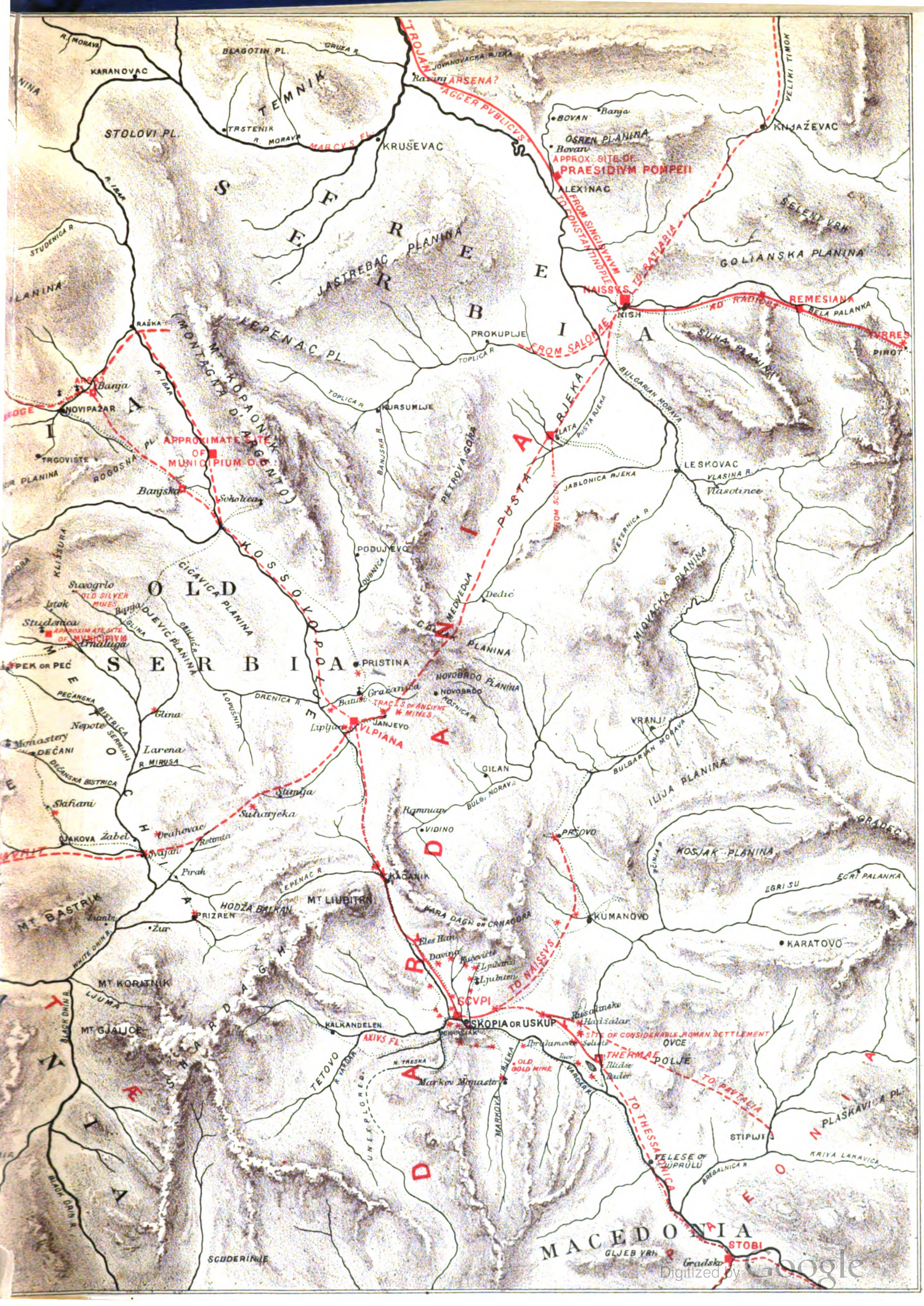
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R. MORAVA
KARANOVAC
BLAGOTIN PL.
GRUZA R.
TEMNIK
TROJAN
JOVANOVACKA RJEKA
Razanj
ARSENA?
AGGER PVBLICVS
VELIKI TIMOK
STOLOVI PL.
TRSTENIK
R. MORAVA
MARCVS FL.
KRUŠEVAC
BOVAN
Banja
OSREN PLANINA
Bovan
APPROX. SITE OF
PRAESIDIVM POMPEII
KNJAŽEVAC
LEXINAC
FROM SINGIDVNVM
TO CONSTANTINOPLE
TO BATTABIA
ŠELENT VRH
GOLIANSKA PLANINA
STUDENICA R.
JASTREBAC PLANINA
SERBIA
NAISSVS
REMESIANA
AD RADICES
BELA PALANKA
NIŠ
RAŠKA
PROKUPLJE
FROM SALONAE
SUHA PLANINA
PIROT
TOPLICA R.
KURSUMLIJE
BULGARIAN MORAVA
NOVIPAZAR
TRGOVIŠTE
ROGOSNA PL.
APPROXIMATE SITE
OF
MUNICIPIUM DD
Banjska
Sokolica
PODUJEVO
DUBNICA
PETROVA GORA
RJEKA
PUSTA
ZLATA
PUSTA RJEKA
LESKOVAC
VLASINA R.
Vlasotince
JABLONICA RJEKA
VETERNICA R.
MOVAČKA PLANINA
KOSSOVOPOLIE
OLD SERBIA
Stavogrlo
OLD SILVER MINES
Istok
Banja
APPROXIMATE SITE OF MVNICIPIVM
Studenica
Gradiliga
PEĆ OR PEC
PRISTINA
Gračanica
Batuse
TRACES OF ANCIENT MINES
NOVOBRDO
NOVOBRDO PLANINA
DRENICA R.
LOPUŠNIK
Lipljan
JANJEVO
VLPIANA
Glina
Nepote
Monastery
DEČANI
Larena
R. MIRUSA
DEČANSKA BISTRICA
PEĆANSKA BISTRICA
Skafiani
Slunja
Suharjeka
Ramnuge
VIDINO
GILAN
BULG. MORAVA
VRANJE
BULGARIAN MORAVA
ILIJA PLANINA
PRŠOVO
PRADEC
KOSJAK PLANINA
PČINJA R.
EGRI SU
EGRI PALANKA
KUMANOVO
KARATOVO
Ohrahovac
Retenta
Pirah
LJAKOVA
Žabeš
Vrajan
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ANTIQUARIAN RESEARCHES IN ILLYRICUM.

III.—AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROMAN ROAD-LINES FROM SALONÆ TO SCUPI, AND OF THE MUNICIPAL SITES AND MINING CENTRES IN THE OLD DALMATIAN AND DARDANIAN RANGES.

HITHERTO we have been concerned with the Dalmatian coast-cities and the great parallel lines of road that traversed the length of the Province from the borders of Pannonia and Italy to those of Epirus. From Salonæ there were, in addition to these highways to the North and South, at least two main-lines of Roman Way that traversed the interior ranges of the Dinaric Alps and led to the Mœsian and Dardanian[a] borders that lay to the East and South-East. Milliary columns have been found at Salonæ, one[b] recording the completion by Tiberius' Legate Dolabella of a line of road leading from the Colony of Salonæ to a mountain stronghold of the Ditiones—an Illyrian clan probably inhabiting what is now the North-East region of Bosnia; another, also of Tiberius' time,[c] referring to the construction of a line, 156 miles in extent, from Salonæ to a *Castellum* of the Dæsitiates, an Illyrian clan belonging to the *Conventus* or administrative district of Narona, and whose stronghold, according to the mileage given, must be sought somewhere on the Upper Drina, towards the Moesian and Dalmatian confines. This latter line may very well be that represented in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as leading from Salonæ to Argentaria, a name which seems to connect itself with the silver-bearing ranges lying on the uncertain boundary of the ancient Dalmatia and Dardania, and which, from its mineral riches, was still known in the Middle Ages as *Monte Argentaro*.

[a] Dardania, under the earlier Empire a part of Upper Mœsia, forms from the end of the third century a separate Province.

[b] C. I. L. iii. 3198 (and cf. 3199).

[c] C. I. L. iii. 3201.

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I shall have occasion to describe a succession of important Roman sites along this route, coupled with other traces, which tend to show that an avenue of communication was opened out on this side by Roman engineering between the Dalmatian cities and the central Dardanian plains, and which finally, through the pass of Kačanik, brought them into connexion with the Macedonian road-system. Meanwhile it may be well to point out the great economic importance of the high-road connecting the Dalmatian capital with the chief mineral centres of the interior, not only to Salonæ itself but to the Roman World.

The Illyrian highlanders, and notably the Southern tribe of the Pirustæ, had shown themselves skilful miners in their own Alps before the Roman Conquest. Augustus, on the reduction of the Dalmatæ, the race whose valour finally transferred their name to a large part of the original Illyrian area, "compelled," we are told, "this savage race to dig mines and extract gold from the veins of the rock."[a] But it was only the comprehensive scheme of road-making carried into effect by Tiberius' enterprising Legate that could have paved the way for the vast development of gold production that took place in the succeeding Age, and which for a time made Dalmatia the Eldorado of the Empire. By Nero's time Pliny informs us that fifty pounds weight of gold was daily extracted from the Dalmatian mines, representing an annual sum of between eight and nine hundred thousand pounds of our money. From Pliny's statement it would appear that this Dalmatian gold was in his day largely obtained from the surface of the ground,[b] and the cost of collection was no doubt diminished, as in Dacia[c] and elsewhere, by the large employment of slave labour. It is probable, moreover, that a good deal was gathered by independent gold-washers, or *auri leguli*, who afterwards handed in the proceeds of their toil to the local officers of mines, and were remunerated on a regulation scale: an arrangement still in force in Transylvania, where the gipsies pursue this ancient industry on the sites of the Daco-Roman gold-works. Modern

[a] Florus, iv. 12.

[b] Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 21. "Aurum . . . . invenitur aliquando in summa tellure protinus, rara felicitate: ut nuper in Dalmatia, principatu Neronis, singulis diebus etiam quinquagenas libras fundens."

[c] Dr. Julius Jung, *Römer und Romanen*, p. 34 *seqq.* has collected the existing records of the Roman administration of Mines in Dacia, from which we may supplement our knowledge of the same administration in Dalmatia. The chief control was in the hands of a *Procurator Aurariarum*. Under him were various officers, such as *tabularii*, or treasurers, *dispensatores*, paymasters, and others. The exploitation was conducted by slaves condemned *ad metalla*, of whom there may have been 20,000, and by independent *leguli aurariarum*. Cf. Karl Gooss, *Innerverhältnisse des Trajanischen Daciens, Excurs. I.—Die Goldbergwerke.*

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critics, indeed, have accused Pliny of exaggerating the amount obtained from these Dalmatian gold-fields.[a] But it is probable that writers who appeal to the short-comings of ancient mechanical skill, have neither taken into adequate account the cheapness of such labour as was supplied, for instance, by the forty thousand slaves in the mines of Carthagena, nor realised the resources of Roman enterprise, which, as we know in Spain and elsewhere, undermined whole mountain sides[b] in order to expose the auriferous strata, and conducted streams by artificial channels a hundred miles in length for the purpose of washing the gold ore. It would appear that in Dalmatia, besides the surface workings alluded to, the other gold-mining processes described by Pliny of digging shafts[c] and excavating vast underground galleries were largely resorted to. The poet Statius, writing in Domitian's time, deplores the long tarrying of his friend Junius Maximus among the Dalmatian mountains, where the miner penetrates to the Nether World, "and with visions of Dis upon him returns as pale and jaundiced as the gold he has dragged forth."[d] Nothing indeed in the experience of modern pitmen can approach the horrors of those ancient gold mines,[e] where, by the

[a] To Petter, for instance (*Dalmazien*, B. i. p. 24 note), it is incomprehensible that the annual gold production of Roman Dalmatia should have been six times as great as that of modern Hungary, and that it should have rivalled in amount that of the South American goldfields. "Bedenkt man ferner dass der Bergbau zu den Römerzeiten noch auf den untersten Stufen stand, da den Römern alle Hilfsmittel der Jetztzeit wie z. B. Schiesspulver, hydraulische Maschinen, Dampfmaschinen, u. s. w. unbekannt waren."

[b] "Mons fractus cadit ab sese longe, fragore qui concipi humana mente non possit. . . . Spectant victores ruinam naturæ . . . . Alius par labor, ac vel majoris impendii, flumina ad lavandam hanc ruinam jugis montium ducere obiter a centesimo plerumque lapide. Corrugos vocant, a corrivatione credo." (Pliny, xxxiii. 21.) The word *ruina*, in the sense of "landslip" or "talus," has been preserved in the form *Räfein* among the Germanized "Ladine" population of the ancient Rætia. The local names *Runović*, *Runić*, associated in several cases with Roman sites in Slavonic Illyria, may suggest a comparison.

[c] *Loc. cit.* "Alio modo puteorum scrobibus effoditur . . . vagantur venarum canales per latera puteorum; tellusque ligneis columnis suspenditur."

[d] *Silvarum*, l. iv. c. 7. *Ad Maximum Junium:*

"Quando te dulci Latio remittent
Dalmatæ montes, ubi, Dite viso,
Pallidus fossor redit, erutoque
Concolor auro?"

The idea has been borrowed by Silius Italicus (l. i. 231) and by Claudian, who applies the epithet "Pallentes" to the Bessian miners.

[e] "Cuniculis per magna spatia actis cavantur montes ad lucernarum lumina. Eadem mensura vigiliarum est, multisque mensibus non cernitur dies." Pliny, *loc. cit.* who proceeds to describe the

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light of open iron lamps (the Roman shape, material, and name of which are still preserved in the Dalmatian Alps),[a] the slave-gangs worked for months at a time without seeing the light of day. Even were there not preserved to us the definite statements of ancient writers as to the magnitude of the Roman gold-mining operations in the ancient Dalmatia, the fact might be sufficiently inferred by the existing traces of some of the works, and by the ruins of flourishing cities in the wild Bosnian interior, which, like those that sprung up amidst the most sterile Sierras of Roman Spain, must have owed their rise and fortunes in a great degree to the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the province.

Of this golden harvest Salonæ now became the principal garner. It was not without reason that Martial congratulates his friend Macer, transferred as Governor from Spain to Dalmatia, on his approaching arrival at "long-shored Salonæ" and the Land of Gold.

"Ibis litoreas Macer Salonas.

* * * * *

Felix auriferæ colone terræ."[b]

To this City the proceeds of the gold-fields of the Dalmatian interior were transported by the newly-opened roads. It was here that the imperial officers resided whose function it was to direct the working of the provincial gold mines, and amongst whom a *Commentariensis Aurariarum Dalmatarum* and *Dispensator* or paymaster are mentioned in an inscription from this site.[c] At the time when the Notitia Dignitatum was drawn up Salonæ appears as the seat of an Imperial Treasury,[d] and the abundant supply of the "Dalmatian ore" seems to have

risks which the miners ran from falls of rock and explosions of fire-damp. The ore was passed on from one gang to another, whole days and nights being consumed in the mere process of transmission: only the last lot of workmen saw the light.

[a] In the mountains of Montenegro and the adjoining Herzegovinian and South Dalmatian highlands I have observed iron lamps known as *Lukijernar* (= lucernarius) of a form precisely similar to that found in Roman mines. The shape has survived in other European countries, but the remarkable thing here is that both shape and name should have been preserved amongst a Slav-speaking population. In the Ragusan dialect the name Lukijernar has also survived, but the lamps have lost the characteristic form preserved by the highlanders. I have already alluded to the significance of the survival of the "k" sound in "Lukijernar" and other similar fragments of the Dalmato-Roman provincial dialect among the present inhabitants.

[b] Martial, *Ep.* lib. x. 78.

[c] C. I. L. iii. 1997.

[d] *Not. Occidentis*, c. x. "Præpositus Thesaurorum Salonitarum Dalmatiæ." Cf. C. I. L. 1992, 1993, 1994.

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favoured the growth of a native artistic industry, the traditions of which may, indeed, be said never to have passed away from the East Adriatic shores. Gold ornaments found at Salonæ and other Illyrian sites rank among the treasures of the *Antiken Kabinet* at Vienna, some of which are executed in a peculiar style of filigree work, which, when, compared with other specimens from this site (one of which I have been enabled to lay before this Society), indicate the existence of a Salonitan speciality of gold filigree-work. In their prevailing features, the conventional *amorini* and filigree rosettes, these Salonitan jewels greatly resemble many similar ornaments from Southern Italy and elsewhere; but, from the frequency of their occurrence on the site of the great Dalmatian city, and from certain barbaresque *nuances* of style, and, notably, a tendency to diverge from natural forms into ornamental developments, we may be allowed to claim for them a local origin.

Statius uses the "Dalmatian ore" as a poetic equivalent for gold itself,[a] but the mineral exploitation of the province was not by any means confined to the gold workings. The Station *Argentaria* on the *Tabula* speaks for itself as regards silver mines, and the iron ore, which occurs in great abundance in the Dinaric ranges of the interior, formed another fertile source of Dalmatian prosperity. A late Roman geographer mentions the large export of iron from Dalmatia;[b] and in the sixth century we find the Ostrogothic King Theodoric entrusting a fiscal official in Dalmatia with a special commission to inspect the iron mines of the province and develope their working.[c] It was, perhaps, to pay the *auri leguli* and that part of the workmen who were not slaves, and generally to facilitate the petty traffic amongst the large mining population which this manifold exploitation of mineral wealth in Dalmatia and its borderlands called into being, that, under Trajan and Hadrian, and apparently Marcus Aurelius, an issue of small bronze

[a] Statius, *Sylvarum*, l. 2; *Epithalamium Stellæ et Violantillæ*, v. 154 (referring to the Chamber of Venus):—

"Robora Dalmatico lucent satiata metallo."

[b] *Expositio totius mundi.* (*Geog. Lat. Min.* ed. Riese, p. 119.)

"Dalmatia . . . ferrum habundans emittit."

[c] Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, lib. iii. Ep. 25; *Simeoni V. I. Comiti, Theodoricus Rex*. . . . . "Præterea ferrarias venas prædictæ Dalmatiæ cuniculo te veritatis jubemus inquirere, ubi rigorem ferri parturit terrena mollicies, et igni decoquitur, ut in duritiem transferatur. Hinc, auxiliante Deo, defensio patriæ venit: hinc agrorum utilitas procuratur, et in usus humanæ vitæ multiplici commoditate porrigitur. Auro ipsi imperat et servire cogit locupletes constanter armatis. Convenit itaque hanc speciem diligenti indagatione rimari, per quam et nobis lucra generantur et hostibus procurantur exitia." Cf. Ep. 26. *Osuni, V. I. Comiti, Theodoricus Rex.*

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pieces was struck with legends referring to the mines of this and the adjoining Illyrian provinces.[a] These pieces, if not, as has been sometimes advanced, struck in the provincial mines themselves,[b] were at least coined of metal derived from the sources indicated, and their material may be taken as proof that the Dinaric ranges were as productive in Roman hands of the elements of bronze as of iron, gold, and silver. Those of Trajan—struck between the years 104-110—present on their reverse a figure of Equity and the legend METALLI VLPIANI DELM*atici*.[c] Those of Hadrian read METAL. DELM,[d] sometimes accompanied with a stag, emblematic of the Dalmatian forest-mountain, and of the patron divinity of the last of the native dynasts,[e] sometimes by a breastplate, an apparent allusion to the skill of provincial armourers. That this branch of native industry flourished in Roman Dalmatia there is other conclusive evidence. At Salonæ, as in the more northern Illyrian cities that owed their principal industry to the Noric iron mines,[f] was established an imperial Arsenal, the existence of which is attested by the *Notitia Dignitatum*,[g] and by a monument of fourth-century date, referring to one of the armourers.[h]

Connected with the abundance of the precious, as well as the useful, metals at Salonæ is the prominence among its epigraphic records of a guild of artificers,

[a] Eckhel, D. N. vi. p. 445, remarks of these coins: "Sunt omnes ænei, III. formæ, etsi certum sit fodinas in his numis memoratas nobiliora etiam metalla fudisse. Ex quo argui potest istud monetæ genus in eorum stipendium qui ad opus in metallis faciundum destinati fuere percussum esse."

[b] Cf. Neumann, *Populorum Numismata*, ii. 152. Rasche, *Lex. Rei Numariæ*, *s. v.* MET. NOR.

[c] Cohen, *Médailles Impériales* (2me edition). Trajan, No. 183. There are other similar coins of Trajan with the legend METALLI VLPIANI, METALLI VLPIANI PANN., and METALLI PANNONICI. Another, representing on the reverse a female figure raising her robe and holding ears of corn, reads DARDANICI.

[d] Cohen, *op. cit. Hadrian*, Nos. 1516, 1517. That with a stag is engraved in the *Pembroke Catalogue*, p. iii. t. 91. Another, reading DARDANICI, and with the reverse similar to the coin of Trajan, has on its obverse the head of Rome and the legend ROMA (Coh. No. 1514). Cohen omits to mention another type of this Emperor, of which I have a specimen, with MET. NOR. in an oak-wreath on the reverse, for METALLI NORICI. (Cf. Rasche, *loc. cit.* and *Pembroke Catalogue*, p. iii. t. 91.) Other coins of uncertain attribution read METAL. AVRELIANIS. These, like some of those reading METAL. DELM. present on the obverse a youthful head, perhaps of M. Aurelius, but without legend.

[e] Artemis is represented on the coins of the Illyrian Prince Ballæos and his successors struck at Pharia and Rhizon.

[f] Laureacum, where was a *fabrica Scutaria*; Carnuntum, which, though within the Pannonian border, must have depended on Noric mines for the same industry, and Sirmium the seat of a "Fabrica Scutorum *Scordiscorum* et armorum."

[g] *Not. Dign. Occidentis*, c. 8. *Fabrica Salonitana* "Armorum."

[h] C. I. L. iii. 2043. The tomb of a certain Maurentius FABRICENSIS.

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the *Collegium Fabrum Veneris.* A whole series of inscriptions illustrates the important part played by this worshipful company in the Roman city.[a] On these we find mention of its noble Patrons and benefactors, amongst whom the Emperor Constans figures,[b] its Præfects and Decurions, and the corporation seems to have claimed a special jurisdiction in what concerned its members.[c] One inscription commemorates the erection of a bronze statue by the *Collegium* to T. Flavius Agricola, Præfect and Patron of the guild, who combined the highest municipal dignities of Salonæ itself and the two cities of Æquum[d] and of Riditæ,[e] with the more fiscal office of Curator of the Republic of Splonistæ.[f] The city of Splonum, which lay in the heart of the Dinaric Alps, appears to have been one of the great mining centres of the interior; and from a Dacian inscription we learn that a Dalmatian Prince of this Municipium received an imperial commission to direct the gold mines of Alburnus.[g] This record of the fiscal functions performed by the Præfect of the Salonitan *Collegium* at Splonum supplies an interesting connecting link between that flourishing guild and the mining, in all probability the gold-working industry of the interior of the province. When it is further remembered that at Apulum and Sarmizegetusa—official centres of the Dacian gold-fields—monumental records have been preserved of similar *Collegia fabrum* of equal local prominence with that of Salonæ, we may be allowed to connect the guild in a special manner with the craft of the *fabri Aurarii*, to whose handiwork attention has been already called. The dedication of the guild to Venus, the lady of the golden necklace, the natural patroness of the jewellers'

[a] Cf. C. I. L. iii. 1981, 2026, 2087, 2107, 2108.

[b] FL . CONSTAN||TI . NOBILISSI||MO . AC BEATIS||SIMO CAESARI || COLL . FABRVM || VENERIS. C. I. L. iii. 1981. (A.D. 333-7.)

[c] An inscription on the tomb of a *Decurio Collegii Fabrum* found at Salonæ (C. I. L. iii. 2107) concludes: SI QVIS AEAM ARCAM APERIRE VO(LV)ERIT INFERET DECVRIAE MEAE*XXV. Here the *Decuria* is evidently that of the Guild. In other instances we find a similar fine claimed by the *Respublica Salonitana;* at a later period by the *Ecclesia Salonitana.*

[d] Near Sinj. We are almost tempted to connect the figure of Equity on the Dalmatian Mine-Coinage with this COLONIA AEQVITATIS. *Vide infra.*

[e] Near Sebenico.

[f] T . FLAVIO || T . FIL . TRO*mentina* || AGRICOLÆ || DEC*urio* . COL*oniæ* . SAL*onitanæ*||
AED*ili* IIVIRO . IVRE || DIC*undo* . DEC*urio* . COL*oniæ* . AEQVI||TATIS . IIVIRO .
QUIN*Quennali* . DISP*ensatori* . || MVNICIPI . RIDITARVM . || PRAEF*ecto* . ET .
PATRONO . COLL*egii* || FABR*um* . OB MERITA EIVS COLL*egium* || FABRVM .
EX AERE CONLATO || CVRATORI REIPVB*licæ* . SPLONIS || STARVM .
TRIBVNVS . LEG*ionis* X . G*eminæ* . P*iæ* F*idelis*. . . . (C. I. L. iii. 2026.)

[g] C. I. L. iii. 1322: and cf. Mommsen's observations (p. 305), *s. v.* ALBURNUS MAJOR. The inscription itself was found at Zalatna in Transylvania, the ancient Ampelum.

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art, certainly points to this connexion, nor do we need the constantly recurring *amorini* of the Salonitan goldwork to remind us how intimately this craft was associated with that of the "*Mater sæva Cupidinum.*" It is, however, only reasonable to suppose that various classes of Salonitan artificers were enrolled in the *Collegium;* and how, indeed, in the later days of the Western Empire was it possible to separate the callings of armourer and goldsmith? The connexion between Venus and Vulcan was of old standing; and "*Venus Victrix,*" the special personality under which the Goddess was worshipped from the second century onwards, was certainly as well qualified to preside over forgers of weapons as over moulders of ornaments. The frequent appearance of the Goddess under this aspect on Salonitan monuments is not without significance in its connexion with the *Collegium Veneris.* In the museum at Spalato is to be seen a marble statue of the Goddess in this character, of some merit; and gems—notably green plasmas and red jaspers—representing the Armed Venus, are of specially plentiful occurrence on the prolific site of the ancient Salonæ.

The mining-town of Splonum referred to in the above inscriptions has been identified with the Dalmatian stronghold of Splaunum, mentioned as a strongly fortified and populous city by Dion,[a] in his account of Germanicus' campaign against the North Dalmatian tribe of the Mazæi. It appears to have been situated in what is at present the Bosnian Kraina, probably in the neighbourhood of Stari Maidan[b] ("the Old Mine"), where iron is still worked. The surrounding district is known at the present day to be rich in minerals, including gold and silver, though the precious metals are found in inconsiderable quantities.[c] In the ranges of more central Bosnia the engineer Conrad[d] has recently discovered some remarkable traces of ancient mining operations. On Mount Rosinj, the limestone steeps of which overlay veins of quartz and greenstone, are numerous heaps of washings, the largest 80 feet high, 150 broad, and 400 long, containing tailings of quartz and

[a] *Hist. Rom.* lib. lvi. c. 11: Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἄλλα τε χωρία Δελματικὰ εἶλε καὶ Σπλαῦνον, καίπερ τῇ τε φύσει ἰσχυρὸν ὂν, καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν εὖ πεφραγμένον, τούς τε ἀμυνομένους παμπληθεῖς ἔχον. Germanicus, starting from Siscia, as a base, took Splaunum on his way to Rætinium, the position of which is probably to be identified with the site of the newly-discovered Municipium near Bihać.

[b] Cf. Tomaschek, *Die vorslawische Topographie der Bosna,* &c. p. 12.

[c] It appears from two Bosnian documents of the years 1339 and 1422, that gold was exported from the country in the Middle Ages; and the Venetian geographer Negri, writing at the end of the fifteenth century, mentions the *auri ramenta* of the river Verbas. Gold-washings existed on the upper Lašva near Travnik in the sixteenth century. Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters.* Prag, 1879, p. 42.

[d] *Bosnien in Bezug auf seine Mineralschätze* (Mitth. d. k. k. geogr. Ges. in Wien, 1870, p. 214 *seqq.*)

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iron-ore, mixed with red earth,[a] which gives to this heap the name of Crvena Zemlja, or "the bloody plot." Another of these is still more appropriately known as "Zlatna Guvna," or "the golden threshing-floor." The position of these artificial mounds shows the direction of the quartz-veins, and indicates a prodigious gold-digging activity in past times.[b] It is remarkable, however, that no epigraphic or other remains indicating the former existence of a Roman Municipium have been found near these ancient works.

The chief centre of the gold-working activity in ancient Dalmatia appears, however, to have been the country of the Pirustæ, a branch of the great Dassaretian clan who inhabited the inaccessible Alpine extremities of the province towards the Dardanian and Epirote confines, and who appear to have had the Dæsidiatæ as their northern borderers.[c] The mining aptitudes of this race were utilized by the Romans at a later date in developing the resources of their Dacian gold-fields; and the waxen tablets discovered in the Transylvanian mines have revealed the existence of a Dalmatian settlement near the Dacian city of Alburnus Major, known as the *Vicus Pirustarum*.[d] These Dacian tablets are indeed a striking witness of

[a] "Aus den Ueberresten dieses Bergbaues ersieht man deutlich dass das gediegene Gold in den Zersetzungs-produkten, nämlich aus dem Schwefelkies enstandenen Brauneisenstein (Brauneisenerz) und in den Ablagerungen enthalten war, welche aus den zerstrümmerten und durch die Flut weggeschwemmten Gebirgsmassen gebildet haben." (*Op. cit.* p. 221).

[b] The present inhabitants have a superstition against continuing the search for gold, though the tradition of its existence is preserved by the local proverb:

"Vol se čese o zlatni stog a ljudi ne vide."

(The ox rubs himself against the golden sheaf but folks see it not.)

[c] Ptolemy, *Geog.* lib. ii. c. 16, places the Pirustæ after the Dokleates (whose territory roughly answered to the modern Montenegro), and before the Skirtones, described by him as πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. From Livy's notice (lib. xlv. c. 26) we may infer that they lay inland from the Rhizonic Gulf. Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. c. 115) speaks of their inaccessible position. Although, as their names show, Illyrian among the Illyrians, they are placed by Strabo (lib. vii. c. 5) in a Pannonian connexion along with their Dæsidiate kinsmen: and it is to be observed that Bato, the Dæsidiate chief, took the lead in the great Dalmato-Pannonian outbreak. We may therefore infer that there was some avenue of communication between the Dæsidiates and Pirustæ of South-East Dalmatia and the Pannonian lands of the Save: an avenue naturally supplied by the Drina Valley. From the fact that the Salona milestone places the Castellum of the Dæsidiates 156 miles distant we should be led to look for it on the Upper Drina. The Pirustæ, who as borderers of the Dokleates lay beyond the Dæsidiates, must therefore be sought in the mountain district beyond the Upper Drina. (See p. 38 *seqq.*)

[d] Cf. the deed of sale to "Andveia Batonis," of half a house, "que est Alburno Majori Vico Pirustarum." (*Tabellæ Ceratæ*, viii.; C. I. L. iii. p. 944.) Another deed records the purchase by Maximus, the son of Bato, of a female slave from Dasius, the son of Verso,—"Pirusta ex Kavieretio." (*Tab. Cer.* vi.; C. I. L. iii. p. 936.)

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the extent to which the gold-mining industry in that province had fallen into Dalmatian hands. They supply a whole treasury of Dalmatian names,[a] amongst which that of the national hero, Bato, occurs repeatedly. The military indebtedness of Rome to these mountaineers is sufficiently attested by the imperial name of Nerva.[b]

Thus it will be seen, that the Roman highway leading into the Dalmatian interior from Salonæ to the Castellum of the Dæsidiates referred to on the milliary column, and that marked on the *Tabula* as leading from the same place in the same south-easterly direction, towards "Argentaria" and the silver-bearing ranges of the old Dalmatian-Dardanian border country, have a peculiar interest in their connexion with the ancient centres of mining activity in the Province. It is probable, as we have said, that, in the main, both routes are one and the same: the prolongation to "Argentaria," marked on the *Tabula*, being a continuation of the more ancient road, which originally extended, as the Salonitan inscription indicates, only 156 miles, to the Dæsidiate borders.

From Salonæ the road marked in the *Tabula* runs to Tilurio (Gardun near Trilj) on the Cettina, by the route already described as forming a part of the line Salonæ-Narona. At this point the road branches off from the Dalmatian-Epirote line and pursues a more inland course, across the Prolog range. This part of the road is still clearly traceable, and has been followed by the engineer Moiza along the northern margin of the plain of Livno, where, at the village of Vidoši,[c] ancient fragments and an inscription have been found, to Grad Bužanin, where are some uncertain remains. This site has been identified, on the strength of the name,[d] with the station in Monte Bulsinio, placed on the *Tabula* thirty miles distant from "Tilurio."

[a] *E. g.*, Anduenna Batonis (cf. Andveia above), Andesis Andunocnetis, Bato Annæi, &c., Bradua Beusantis, Cerdo Dasas Loni, Dasius (or Dassius) Breuci, Epicadus Plarentis qui et Mico, Liccaius Epicadi Marciniesus (cf. the Pæonian King, Lycceius), Lupus Carentis (from Cares), Masurius Messi, Planius Verzonis Sclaies, Plares (Plarentis), Plator Venetus, Veranes, Verzo (cf. the Dalmatian chief "Versus").

[b] There is an extant diploma of Vespasian (C. I. L. iii. p. 849), NERVAE . LAIDI . F . DESIDIATI. The name occurs on a Salonitan inscription (2390) and may be compared with other Dalmatian forms in -erva, such as *Derva*, *Anderva*.

[c] Here was probably the station Ad Libros marked on the *Tabula* as 22 miles distant from Tilurio. There was an alternative way into the plain of Livno from Salonæ viâ Æquum (near Sinj). While making the road from Sinj to Livno, Moiza found traces of the Roman way, and, cut on a rock at the top of the pass over Mount Prolog, the inscription "FLAVIVS MAXIMUS FECIT."

[d] Tomaschek, *Vorslawische Topographie der Bosna*, &c. p. 22. The greatest caution, however, is

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From this spot the course of the road is uncertain.[a] On the one hand it is possible that it made a northern bend, so as to approach the ancient ore-washing basins already described on the flanks of Mount Rosinj; while, on the other hand, the arduousness of the country to be traversed rather suggests the alternative route, by one of the lateral valleys, into the defile of the Narenta, and thence by the pass that leads from Konjica to the plain of Serajevo. This has been, in all historic ages, the main avenue of communication between the inland districts of what is now Bosnia and the Adriatic coastlands, and the frequent discovery of Roman coins at Konjica, as well as the existence of a Roman monument in the pass itself, are certainly indications that the road followed this route.

We are now on more certain ground. The "Serajevsko Polje," or plain of Serajevo, is the natural, we may say the inevitable, crossing-point of all the main-lines of communication through the interior of the country. It is here that the river Bosna, which has given its name to the whole country, wells in full volume from the rock. Here, in the Middle Ages, was the Slavonic stronghold and market of Vrchbosna,[b] chosen by the Turks, on the conquest of Bosnia, as the seat of their

necessary in accepting identifications of sites based on merely verbal coincidences. Prof. Tomaschek's ingenuity in this regard at times outruns his discretion. Thus, for example, he observes of Torine, a village near Travnik, "*Der nahe Ort Torine ist unslawisch und enspricht einem alten Tarona.*" So far from being "un-Slavonic" the word *Torine* is of universal use in Bosnia, and simply means a "sheep-fold"; a slender foundation on which to construct an ancient city. Again, heedless of the fact that "Bystrica" is the universal Slavonic name for clear streams (Old Sl. *Bystrŭ*, Serb. *Bistar*, cf. Miklosich, *Die Slavischen Ortsnamen, s. v.*), the same writer goes out of his way to seek for the Pannonian river *Bustricius*, mentioned by Ravennas, an Albanian-Illyrian origin from Buštre = bitch (Hündin).

[a] The stations and mileage given by the *Tabula* after "in Monte Bulsinio" are—"VI Bistue Vetus—XXV Ad Matricem—XX Bistue Nova—XXIIII Stanecli"; after which follows "Argentaria" without any numerical indication. From evidence supplied by an inscription found at Rogatica (see p. 18), Bistue Nova appears to have been in the neighbourhood of that town, and Ad Matricem near the source of the Bosna. Hence we must seek for the position of Bistue Vetus about Konjica on the Upper Narenta, and it becomes evident that a deficiency must be supplied either in the names or mileage of the earlier stations of the *Tabula*.

One of the Bistues, probably Bistue Vetus as being nearer to the maritime tract, seems to have been still flourishing in the sixth century. An "Andreas, Episcopus Ecclesiæ Bestoensis" is mentioned in the Act of the Provincial Council of Salona of 530 and 532 (Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. ii. p. 173).

[b] Cf. Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters* (Prag, 1879), p. 85. The plain of Serajevo was known as the Župa Vrchbosna, but the stronghold was on the site of the present citadel of Serajevo, not at the actual source of the Bosna as has sometimes been asserted. As early as 1436 we find a Turkish Voivode placed here to control the tributary Christian dynasts of Bosnia.

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provincial governor, and better known under its later name of Bosna Seraj, or Serajevo. A position which has given birth to the modern capital of the province was not neglected by the Romans, and during my journey through Bosnia in 1875 I was so fortunate as to come upon the first trace of the Roman predecessor of Serajevo.[a] At Blažui, in the western angle of the Sarajevsko Polje, I found a Roman bas-relief of Eros or the Genius of Death, leaning on an extinguished torch; and, near it, numerous other antique fragments built into the remains of a stone fountain, and a Turkish "Han." Dr. Hoernes, on subsequently visiting the spot,[b] discovered a bas-relief of a good style, representing a Mænad, or Bacchante, the panther skin flung round her shoulders, but otherwise nude; a *thyrsus* leaning against her left arm, her right stretched forward, and her head thrown back in orgiastic rapture. Walled into the neighbouring bridge over the Bosna he observed a Genius with reversed torch, somewhat similar to the first, but which, from its Phrygian cap, had probably, a Mithraic signification.



Fig. 1.

In 1880 I had the opportunity of renewing my explorations about this site. I was able to copy a small fragment from Blažui,[c] representing the lower part of a figure of Diana standing before her doe, beneath which was an inscription, showing that it was part of a votive monument erected to the goddess by a votary of the appropriate name of Silvia. Another inscription from Blažui has since been communicated by the Pravoslav Metropolitan to the Serajevo Gazette, but, unfortunately, in an unsatisfactory shape.

On the left bank of the small stream that flows past Blažui rises the brushwood-covered height of Crkvica,[d] whilst examining which I came upon remains

[a] *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina*, &c. 1876, p. 237 (2nd ed. p. 237).

[b] *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. aus Osterr.* iv. 44.

[c] For this I am indebted to the kindness of M. Moreau, the French Consul at Serajevo, in whose hands the fragment now is. It is six inches in height. From Vitina, near Ljubuški, in Herzegovina (cf. C. I. L. iii. 6365, 6368; Hœrnes, *op. cit.* p. 41), the same gentleman had obtained á finger of a colossal marble statue, and a tile with the inscription LEG VIII AVG.

[d] The name is equivalent to "church-land." A part of it is still used as a cemetery, and several mediæval tombs of the usual kind are to be seen, indicating the former existence of a church (crkva).

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that seem to indicate that here was the Acropolis of the ancient town; perhaps the original Illyrian stronghold that became the nucleus of the Roman Municipium. Here I found a part of a cornice with antique mouldings, and two Roman sepulchral slabs, the inscription of which, however, had been utterly obliterated by atmospheric agencies. On one of these, above the sunken field which formerly contained the epitaph, are two full-face busts of the rudest workmanship, accompanied with equally rude degenerations of the rose and acanthus ornament. The monument, however, has a peculiar interest in the resemblance it bears to the Illyro-Roman sepulchral slabs on the height of Sveti Ilija above Plevlje, which I shall have occasion to describe,[a] and confirms the hypothesis that here was the original Illyrian quarter.[b]

Besides the general suitableness of the position already indicated, the Romans in selecting this site were doubtless influenced by local advantages of a more special kind. Situated at the western extremity of the plain, the Roman town commanded the entrance to the pass which was most indispensable to it as forming its avenue of communication with maritime Dalmatia; just as the present city of Serajevo, lying at the eastern extremity of the plain, derived much of its importance in Turkish eyes from its holding the key to the defile that secured its communications with Stamboul. The abundant source of the Bosna, hard by, supplied the first essential of Roman municipal requirements; while the hardly less abundant hot springs of Illidže on the neighbouring banks of the Želesnica, known here as elsewhere in the Illyrian wilds by the name of *Banja*, a corruption as we have seen[c] of the Roman *Balnea*, must have given the situation a peculiar value in the eyes of colonists and soldiers from the warmer Mediterranean climes doomed to adapt themselves to Illyrian Alpine winters.

[a] See p. 31 seqq.

[b] More recently Herr Dumičić has discovered in the same neighbourhood, on the left bank of the Lepenica near Kisseljak, and not far from the confluence of the Fojnička Rjeka, the following inscription:

C. MANLIVS
C L
HONESIMVS
ANN|I ||

The cippus on which this was inscribed lay amongst hewn stones and other ancient fragments on a steep rock called Crkvice, to the north of which is a sloping terrace. (*Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1883, p. 130.) A fragmentary sepulchral inscription has also been discovered by Captain Von Handel at Divjak in the Lašva valley south of Travnik.

[c] See *Archæologia* XLVIII. p. 66.

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There is moreover the strongest presumption that the fortunes of the Roman city on this site were intimately bound up with the copious existence of ore-bearing strata in the surrounding ranges. The neighbouring defiles of Foinica and Kreševo are still reckoned the principal centres of the mineral wealth of modern Bosnia; and both these places in the Middle Ages were frequented by a mining colony of Saxons and Ragusans.[a] Besides iron, copper, lead, and quicksilver in abundance, the more precious metals are not wanting. The silver mines of Foinica[b] are repeatedly referred to in the Ragusan archives. Gold is known to occur in the same neighbourhood; it is to be detected in small quantities in the sand of the Foinica stream,[c] and there can be little doubt that here as in the not distant ranges about Vareš it was also exploited. I have myself observed on the flanks of the mountains about Foinica huge scars and traces of ancient excavations,[d] and have found the surface in places covered with fragments of quartz containing various ores, and accompanied, as in the case of the tailings described by the engineer Conrad on the northern side of the same range, with hæmatitic iron ore and ochreous earth. It is to be observed that Blažui stands at the point where these metalliferous defiles open out into the broad and fertile Serajevsko Polje. The neighbouring village of Rudnik owes its name to mining industry,[e] and it appears to me highly probable that the name of the Roman city, the site of which we have been exploring, was derived from the same source.

From an inscription existing at Rogatica referring to a Dec(urio) C(ivitatis) Bis(tuensis),[f] it appears that there, or rather perhaps on the neighbouring site of Gorazda, stood the Bistue Nova of the *Tabula* and *Itineraries*. From this we may

[a] Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 49. Foinica or Chvojnica is frequently mentioned in the Ragusan archives of the fifteenth century as the seat of a mining colony of the Republic which numbered amongst its members scions of the patrician houses of Bonda, Bucchia, and Gozze.

[b] Herr Dumičić of Kisseljak showed me specimens of ore from this neighbourhood containing as much as thirty per cent. of silver.

[c] Accompanied by grains of silver, cinnabar, and globules of quicksilver.

[d] *Through Bosnia*, &c. p. 210, 227, *seqq.*

[e] *Rudnik* is derived from the Old Slavonic *Ruda* = *Metallum*. Cf. Miklosich, *Die Slavischen Ortsnamen aus Appellativen*, *s. v.*

[f] The first describers of this inscription, Dr. Blau and M. de Ste Marie, differed as to their reading. Dr. Blau reading DEC . C . RIS completed by Mommsen (C. I. L. iii. 2766 b) *Dec(urio) C(ivitatis) Ris(ini)*: *(Itinéraires de l'Herzegovine)*; M. de Ste Marie reading DEC . C . BIS to be completed *Dec(urio) C(ivitatis) Bis(tuae)* or *Bistuensis*. Dr. Hoernes on first examining the stone accepted Dr. Blau's version, though with the remark that "das unten beschädigte R einem B ähnlich sieht" (*Arch. Epigr. Mitth.* iv. p. 45); but on a second examination of the stone in 1880 he convinced

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infer that the important station that precedes it on the road from Salonæ, Ad Matricem, marked in the *Tabula* with lofty towers and a central pinnacle,—more prominently indeed than any other Dalmatian city,—is to be identified with the Municipium that formerly existed at Blažui, and which was in fact the Roman predecessor of Serajevo. Dr. Hoernes, who accepts this view, sees in the name an allusion to the source of the Bosna,[a] but I should prefer to trace in it rather an allusion to the sources of mineral wealth. In both the Dacian and Mœsian mining districts have been found frequent Roman dedications, TERRAE MATRI,[b] to Mother Earth, who was naturally invoked in such districts as the goddess from whose *matrix* all mineral treasures were brought forth. At Rudnik, in the centre of the old silver mining country, of what is at present the kingdom of Serbia, there were discovered the remains of a temple of TERRA MATER, with an inscription recording its restoration by the Emperor Septimius Severus,[c] and from an altar found at Karlsburg in Transylvania, the ancient Apulum, it would appear that this goddess was regarded as the peculiar patroness of the Dacian *Eldorado*.[d] In this case *Ad Matricem* would simply mean the town near the *matrix*, or load, of mineral deposits, and would correspond to the present name of the neighbouring village of *Rudnik*.

From the neighbourhood of the small mud craters, formed by an old source of the hot springs on the right bank of the Želesnica stream, an ancient paved way, which in part of its course appears to me to represent a Roman road line, leads in the direction of Serajevo. This road traversed the Dobrinja stream by a bridge the lower part of which is apparently composed of Roman blocks; and a portion of a rounded column imbedded at one point in the pavement of the road itself bore a suspicious resemblance to a fragment of a Roman mile-stone. It leads towards the village of Svrakinsko Selo, where was found a votive altar dedicated to Jupiter

himself that the true reading was BIS. Identifying the "Mun(icipium) S." on the site of Plevlje with the Stanecle of the *Tabula*, he observes that it must be the Bistue Nova, which is to be sought at Rogatica or Gorazda, and adds the obvious corollary, "Dann ist aber auch die Lage von ad Matricem bestimmt und wir müssen diese wichtige Station in das Quellbecken der Bosna verlegen" (*Alterthümer der Hercegovina*, ii. 139.)

[a] Tomaschek compares the Pannonian and Galatian "Matrica" and the "Mediomatrici" of Metz and seeks a Celtic origin. It is always possible that the Latin name was due to some adaptation of an earlier indigenous form.

[b] Cf. C. I. L. iii. 996, 1152, 1284, 1285, 1364, 1555, 1599, 6313.

[c] C. I. L. iii. 6313. The remains of the temple and the inscription were discovered in 1865 by Dr. Janko Šafarik, and are described in *Glasnik*, 31, 217—236.

[d] C. I. L. iii. 996.

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Tonitrator,[a] at present existing in the garden of the French Consulate at Serajevo. In this village I noticed the cornice of another Roman monument.

On the northern margin of the plain, near the village of Hreljevo, is a bridge over the Bosna, the stone piers of which appear to be formed of Roman blocks. Great caution, however, is requisite in this country before deciding too confidently on the Roman origin of bridges such as this. In general the Turkish masons[b] show a tendency to cut their building stone into smaller and more cubical blocks than was usual with the Romans; but in this part of Bosnia, owing doubtless to some peculiarity in the strata, the blocks are larger and of more oblong shape. This is, to a certain extent, the case with the bridges over the Miljaška at Serajevo, known from the inscriptions they bear to date from Turkish times; so that, in the absence of other evidence, the shape of the blocks cannot be taken to decide their origin. Nor can their colossal size in the case of the Hreljevo piers and some other examples be regarded as by itself conclusive of Roman handiwork, when we remember the prevalent old Bosnian and Serbian custom of cutting huge monolithic blocks for sepulchral monuments. The purely Roman character of so many modern arts and buildings is continually striking antiquarian eyes in the Balkan peninsula. From this point of view the Turkish conquest of Bosnia and other parts of Western Illyria may almost be regarded as a re-conquest of old Rome. While the influence of Roman arts in the West is often less superficially visible, simply because they have transformed themselves by a living continuity of developement, the Turks have preserved and fossilized what Byzantine conservatism handed on to the Arabs or to themselves. The hamams still visibly recall the ancient baths; the woodwork of the bridges might be copied from Trajan's column; the mosques, with their colonnades and porches, approach nearer to Justinian's churches than their Christian descendants; the arrangement of tiles and bricks in the walls of buildings, with their broad interstices of mortar or cement, transport us to Constantinople and Thessalonica; and, to take one instance out of the many, a low stone archway of the Turkish Bezestan at Serajevo, with its blocks dovetailed into one another, is almost an exact representation of a flat arch of the *Porta Aurea* of Diocletian's Palace-Castle at Spalato.

Among minor monuments of antiquity from this central Bosnian district I have obtained some engraved gems of considerable interest. One from Serajevo

[a] C. I. L. iii. 2766a.

[b] We may include in the same category the Ragusan and Italian architects, known in several instances to have been employed by the Turkish Pashas in Bosnia, &c. to build bridges. Cf. p. 24.

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itself is a very beautiful late-Greek engraving on a sard, representing a Faun pouring wine from an amphora which he holds on his shoulders. Another, of dull-brown chalcedony, displays characteristics of a truly remarkable kind. It represents a rude image of a boar accompanied by a legend, the first line of which, as seen in the impression, reads from right to left, the remaining two lines from left to right. The letters are Roman, but the legend, to be read apparently WIC IO FVLLIS, forms a combination which is as decidedly un-Roman. It is to be observed that the first part of the inscription presents some analogy to the name VOCCIO, which appears on the Celtic coins found in Noricum and Pannonia; and this analogy is supported by the style of the intaglio itself. The character of the boar itself, and notably the conventional representation of the bristles on its hind quarters by a line of pellets, as well as the three pellets introduced under the hind legs of the animal, and again at the end of the inscription, are familiar features on the Celtic coinage from Britain to the Lower Danube. That the Græco-Roman art of gem-engraving was occasionally imitated by Celtic hands can, I think, be shown by examples from our own island; and notably by a carnelian intaglio, found on the Roman Wall, representing a man on horseback, which might almost have been copied from an ancient British coin. The relations between the Dalmatian tribes of the interior and their Celtic neighbours to the North were of the most intimate kind, as is shown by their combined revolt against Rome under the Batos. It is, moreover, certain that at one period there was a considerable Celtic extension in the interior of the Illyrian peninsula, and I have myself obtained Celtic coins very similar to those of Pannonia and Noricum in the central plateau of Dardania. The interior Dalmatian tribes, including the Mazæi and Dæsitiates of Northern and Central Bosnia, are reckoned by Strabo as Pannonians;[a] nor is it possible to lay down any rigid ethnographic line between the Celtic and Illyrian area on this side. Considering the extraordinary spread of Roman arts and culture among the Pannonian tribes in the age of Augustus, it need not surprise us that the Roman fashion of wearing engraved stones on signet-rings was already making its way among these people before the days of their final subjugation. Vellejus Paterculus informs us that when the indigenous races between the Middle Danube and the Adriatic rose in their final effort to shake off the Roman yoke, a knowledge not only of the drill but of the



Fig. 2.
(Enlarged 2 diams.)

[a] Strabo, *Geogr.* lib. vii.

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language of Rome was general throughout these regions, whilst many were familiar with letters, and themselves devoted to literary pursuits.[a]

Another engraved gem in my collection from the Serajevo district is of the highest interest, as supplying a record of the Ostrogothic dominion in the Alpine interior of Roman Dalmatia. It is a small carbuncle or garnet with bevelled circumference, presenting a monogram which appears to have belonged to an official of the Ostrogothic King Theodoric. There are several slightly variant forms of Theodoric's monogram on his coins, and the general agreement of these with the monogram on the present gem is so close[b] that there can, I think, be no doubt as to its identity. It must be remembered, as accounting for the absence of the small *s* usual (but not universal) on Theodoric's coins, that on an official signet we should expect

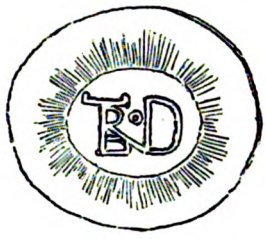


Fig. 3.
(Enlarged 3 diams.)



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.

the form D. N. THEODORICI,[c] while the natural style on coins is in the nominative, D. N. THEODORICVS. What is conclusive as to the *royal* or *imperial* character of the commission held by the possessor of the present signet is the presence of the D. N. in ligature, standing for the supreme late-Roman title DOMINVS NOSTER, and adopted under the same monogrammatic form on the coins of the Ostrogoths, of the Vandals in Africa, and of the Emperors Justin and Justinian. The signet with the royal monogram may have been entrusted to high officials in the provinces for purposes of state, and the discovery of this gem in the old

[a] *Vell. Paterculus*, lib. ii. c. 110. "In omnibus autem Pannoniis non disciplinæ tantummodo sed linguæ quoque notitia Romanæ: plerisque etiam literarum usus et familiaris animorum erat exercitatio."

[b] The only discrepancy that suggests itself is the non-prolongation of the cross-line of the H to the perpendicular line of the D. A parallel instance however may be found on coins of Athalaric, and it appears that in both cases the H was an approach to the so-called "Lombardic" ɦ. We should thus read DN TɦEoDoRICI.

[c] On the King's *own* seal, doubtless, THEODORICI REGIS. The signet ring of Childeric had the inscription CHILDIRICI REGIS (Chifflet, *Anastasis Childerici Regis*, p. 97, Antwerp, 1655). The insertion of the D.N. shows that the present gem belonged to an *official* and not to the king himself.

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Dalmatian interior serves to remind us of the importance attached by Theodoric to the iron-mines of the province, and his special despatch of a commissioner of mines to inquire into their working.[a] The present signet gem, by showing the character of Theodoric's official signature, may help to confute, whilst at the same time explaining, the vulgar calumny of the *Anonymus Valesianus* that the Gothic king, whose perpetual aim was to preserve Roman civilization, and who had himself received his education in New Rome, was not sufficiently acquainted with letters to write his own name. This Catholic, and therefore hostile, chronicler informs us that Theodoric for this reason had recourse to a stencil-plate of gold, in which he traced the first letters of his name, THEOD.[b] When, however, we find that on his official signets, as so often on his coins, Theodoric had recourse to this complicated monogram, we can well understand that for his own convenience he made use of a stencil-plate to affix his signature.

From the Eastern angle of the plain where Serajevo now stands, the Roman road in its course towards the Drina must have followed much the same route as that taken by the present road to Gorazda. Ascending the river pass, past the old Bosnian stronghold of Starigrad, overlooked by the "Eagle Crags" of the Romanja Planina—a name which seems to mark this table-headed range as a former promontory of Byzantine dominions,—the way descends into thefertile valley of Prača, in the Middle Ages one of the principal commercial staples of the country and the seat of a Ragusan colony. This neighbourhood abounds in mediæval sepulchral blocks and the ruins of legendary castles, but I searched in vain for Roman monuments. From Prača there diverge two ancient routes across the forest-mountain, one to Rogatica and the other to Gorazda on the Drina, at both of which places Roman remains are forthcoming.

At Gorazda I discovered, besides other relics of antiquity, the two inscriptions already mentioned[c] in my previous paper; one of them referring to the *Andarvani*, and indicating, as has been pointed out, that there was a point of junction with a Southern road-line bringing the Upper Valley of the Drina into communication with the Plain of Nikšić and the South Dalmatian coast-cities, Epitaurum and Risinium. The Roman predecessor of Gorazda (not improbably

[a] Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, lib. iii. Ep. 25. See p. 9.

[b] *Anon. Valesianus*, c. 79. "Igitur rex Theodoricus illiteratus erat, et sic obruto sensu, ut in decem annos regni sui quatuor litteras subscriptionis edicti sui discere nullatenus potuisset. De qua re laminam auream jussit interrasilem fieri quatuor litteras (regis) habentem (THEOD), ut, si scribere voluisset, posita lamina super chartam, per eam penna duceret, et subscriptio ejus tantum videretur."

[c] See *Archæologia* XLVIII. p. 90, 91.

legi.? not in MSS.

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the Bistue Nova of the *Tabula*),[a] must, like its modern representative, have been an important bridge-station. The existing bridge which here spans the Drina (when I saw it in 1881 in course of restoration by the Austrians) was constructed in 1568 by Ragusan architects and masons at the expense of Mustapha Pasha, of Buda, whose almsgiving took this practical form.[b] Previous to this, in Slavonic times, there had only been a ferry, but the relief of a Roman eagle and other ancient fragments which I observed on the Drina bank not far from the present bridge may be taken as indications that the Drina had been already spanned at this point in Roman times.

From Gorazda the road, after crossing the Drina and traversing the glen of Čajnica, ascends the steeps of Mount Kovač, still covered with a primæval forest growth of gigantic firs and beeches. On this range I came upon one of the most striking ethnological phenomena anywhere to be found in the Balkan lands. The peasant women, whose attire through this and the adjoining Serbian provinces is as exclusively Slavonic as their language, have here preserved a distinctively Illyrian element in their dress. They wear, in fact, over and above the Slavonic apron, an Albanian fustanella;[c] and, though their language is pure Serb, their longer and more finely-cut faces and the expression of their eyes, as much as their characteristic skirts, proclaim their kinship with the aboriginal people of Illyricum. We are reminded that this Kovač range lies on the borders of a central Alpine region known as Stari Vlah or "Old Wallachia," a name which by itself affords sufficient indication that these inaccessible highlands continued to be a stronghold of the Romanized indigenous element long after the Slavs had ousted them from the more open-lying parts of the country. In these fustanella'd peasants we may venture to see the actual descendants of Illyrian clansmen.

[a] See p. 18.

[b] A letter of the Ragusan Government to their ambassador at Constantinople, dated Sept. 19, 1568 (given by Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 86), refers to the construction of this bridge. "Dovete sapere che nelli mesi passati fummo ricercati dall Ill. Signor Mustaffa Bassa di Buda che li dovessemo mandare marangoni, muratori, fabri et molte cose necessarie perche sua Signoria dovea fabricare per fare elemosina un ponte in Ghorasda al quale habbiamo servito volentieri." This Ragusan bridge was of five arches of woodwork, resting on piers of deftly-hewn stone blocks, oblong in shape but not so thick as Roman blocks. The woodwork was so constructed that the middle of the bridge was greatly elevated.

[c] The male peasants—less conservative in dress than their womankind—(except in Albania, an almost universal rule in the Ottoman dominions in Europe) have adopted the Oriental and Slavonic attire of the surrounding populations. In parts of North Albania the *fustanella* is common to both sexes.

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Beyond Mount Kovač opens the plain of Plevlje, the Turkish Tashlidja, containing relics of antiquity which mark it as a principal centre of Illyro-Roman civic life. This plain is the only large open space to be found in the mountains for two days' journey on either side, and at the same time is the natural crossing-point of the highways of communication between the Adriatic coastland and the Mœsian and Dardanian staples, of which Scupi (Skopia) and Naissus, the modern Nish, may be taken as representatives. On these accounts the site on which Plevlje stands has never ceased to play a leading part in the internal economy of this part of the ancient Illyricum. The mediæval importance of Plevlje (formerly known as Breznice,[a] from the little river that flows through its midst) is still attested by the Orthodox monastery in a neighbouring gorge, with its ancient church, resplendent with frescoes in Byzantine style, representing old Serbian Kings and Czars. Its military value was also considerable; and it was here that, in 1463, the Turks gained the victory over Stephen, Duke of St. Sava, which placed Herzegovina at their mercy. The Ragusan and Venetian caravans passed through Plevlje on their way to Nish and Constantinople; and the Venetian traveller Ramberti, writing in 1541, describes the town as "large and well-favoured, according to the country," though the surrounding mountains were at that time the haunt of robbers, who, a few years previously, had plundered a Venetian caravan of about a hundred horses, and slain two nobles of the Serene Republic, a Nani and a Capello.[b] The trade connexion with Ragusa has never been entirely lost, and the traveller[c] is still astonished, on inquiring the direction of the southern road, to hear the name of the old commercial Republic of the eastern Adriatic shore when he expected merely to be told the name of some neighbouring village or insignificant Turkish town.

To this abiding connexion between Plevlje and the Dalmatian civic Republic, which in the Middle Ages succeeded to the place of Salonæ as the maritime emporium of these Illyrian midlands, was due the first discovery at this spot of the remains of a considerable Roman city. In 1792 the Ragusan ambassadors, passing through Plevlje on their way to Constantinople observed there numerous Roman antiquities, the base of a statue, marble columns, and inscriptions; and, in answer to their inquiries, were informed that about an hour distant were to be seen other

[a] Cf. Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 73.

[b] *Delle Cose de Turchi*, p. 6. (In Vinegia, 1541.) Ramberti groups "Plevie" with Prijepolje as "secondo il paese assai grandi e buoni."

[c] Cf. Blau, *Monatsbericht d. k. Preuss. Akad.* 1866, p. 840. He adds, "Noch jetzt wird von Plevlje über Gatzko und Trebinje ein namhafter Handel mit Ragusa getrieben."

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splendid monuments.[a] One of the two inscriptions copied by them on this occasion referred to an Eques Romanus, who was a decurion of the local municipium; but, unfortunately, of the name itself only the initial letter S is given. The notice of the Roman antiquities at Plevlje, contained in the journal of the Ragusan envoys, has been in recent years much augmented by Dr. Blau, formerly Prussian consul at Serajevo, who, at the request of Professor Mommsen, paid a visit to this spot, and copied a whole series of fresh inscriptions.[b] Fresh contributions have recently been made to our knowledge by Herr Müller, the Austrian consul at Plevlje, and by Dr. Hoernes, who visited this locality in 1880.[c] My own investigations on this interesting site may serve to supplement, and in part perhaps to rectify, these observations of fellow-explorers.

The existing remains are distributed over three principal sites—the modern town of Plevlje; a side valley about two miles distant, still known as Old Plevlje; and the hill of Sveti Ilija, lying about half an hour distant on the south-western margin of the plain. Plevlje itself, at present in mixed Turkish and Austrian occupation, is a busy market-town containing a population of about 8,000 Serbs, Mahometan and Orthodox. It enjoys the luxury of fine mountain air and innumerable springs of the purest water; but, excepting one or two stately mosques, there is little to remark in the present town beyond the ancient remains transported hither from the older site. These remains lie mostly on the western side of the town. In the bazaar street are two fountains built entirely of Roman blocks, amongst which is still to be seen the elegant sepulchral monument which arrested the attention of the Ragusan ambassadors. The inscription is interesting, as presenting, in a peculiar style of lettering and abbreviation, the neo-Latin name-forms *Amavilis* for *Amabilis* and *Masimile* for *Maximillæ*.



Fig. 7.

The foundations of several of the Plevlje mosques are built almost entirely of ancient blocks. The Podstražica Mosque contains four inscriptions walled, face

[a] *Giornale del Viaggio a Constantinopoli fatto dagli Ambasciatori della Repubblica di Ragusa alla Sublime Porta l'Anno 1792.* (In Engel. *Geschichte des Freystaates Ragusa*, Wien, 1807, p. 312, *seqq.*)

[b] *Monatsbericht der k. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1866, p. 838, *seqq.* The inscriptions copied by Dr. Blau are given in C. I. L. iii. 6339-6357.

[c] *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1880.

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outwards, into its minaret, and seven more, some however no longer legible, in its basement.[a] One of these commemorates a *Duumvir Quinquennalis* and a sacral functionary;[b] another records a decree of the local Senate giving a site for a monument to some deceased municipal worthy.[c] In the yard opposite the mosque was an altar turned upside down and half buried in the earth, upon which Dr. Hoernes[d] thought that letters could be detected. I had it dug out, but satisfied myself that no trace of an inscription was now visible. Outside the Musluk mosque was another similar altar, with the remarkable inscription:

I. O. N.[e]

The omission of the title of M(aximus) after O(ptimus) is rare, but not altogether unexampled,[f] on monuments of Jove; and we may perhaps assume that the altar was dedicated to Jupiter Nundinarius, the patron of markets, a dedication eminently appropriate to the commercial position of the town. Amongst all the inscriptions existing at Plevlje itself that referring to the Municipium S. must command the highest interest. It is still to be seen on an imposing block opposite the Hussein Pasha mosque, as the Ragusans found it; but for presuming to copy it I narrowly escaped stoning at the hands of the Mahometan rabble of the place, who seemed to imagine that the stone contained secrets only to be revealed to true believers. The inscription is of clear-cut letters of a good period. It records the erection of a monument to T. Aurelius Sextianus, "Eques Romanus, Decurio Municipii S. . . . ," by his father, and the public gift of the ground to erect it on by a decree of the Decurions.[g]

The two examples, of which representations are given below (figs. 8 and 9),[h] may afford an idea of the prevalent style of sepulchral monument at this locality:—

[a] The inscriptions in the Podstražica Mosque are given by Dr. Blau (cf. C. I. L. iii. 6344, &c.)

[b] C. I. L. iii. 6344. [c] C. I. L. iii. 6345.

[d] *Op. cit.* p. 7. "Im Hof derselben Moschee ist eine etwa Mannshohe Stele bis an den Fuss in die Erde vergraben. Ich konnte sie nur ein paar Fuss tief blosslegen und ueberzeugte mich, dass die Vorderseite eine römische Inschrift trägt, deren letzte Zeile die Buchstaben (M)ONVM(*entum*) enthält."

[e] Not, as erroneously given by Blau (C. I. L. iii. 6339), I . O . M. The N is perfectly clear, and cannot be regarded as an imperfect M.

[f] Cf. I . O . BESSVMARVS. C. I. L. iii. 1053.

[g] It is given in C. I. L. iii. 6343. The punctuation, line 2, is however . E . Q . R.

[h] Fig. 8 is from the Podstražica mosque. Fig. 9 from the konak of Sali Beg. The inscriptions are incorrectly given by Dr. Blau (C. I. L. iii. 6346, 6349). My copies agree with Dr. Hœrnes' collations.

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Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

The way from the modern town of Plevlje to the actual site of the Roman Municipium runs across the Ćehotina stream by the Avdovina bridge, opposite which, on the left bank, is another fountain composed of ancient fragments, where I noticed part of an unpublished inscription (fig. 11).

Following the left bank of the stream, about a mile and a-half further, more monuments and two inscriptions will be found in a cottage[a] near the confluence of

[a] The place is called Radosavac. The inscriptions are accurately described by Dr. Hoernes and need not be repeated here.

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the Ćehotina and Vežeznica. At this point opens a beautiful undulating glen watered by the Vežeznica stream, where unquestionably the ancient city lay.[a]

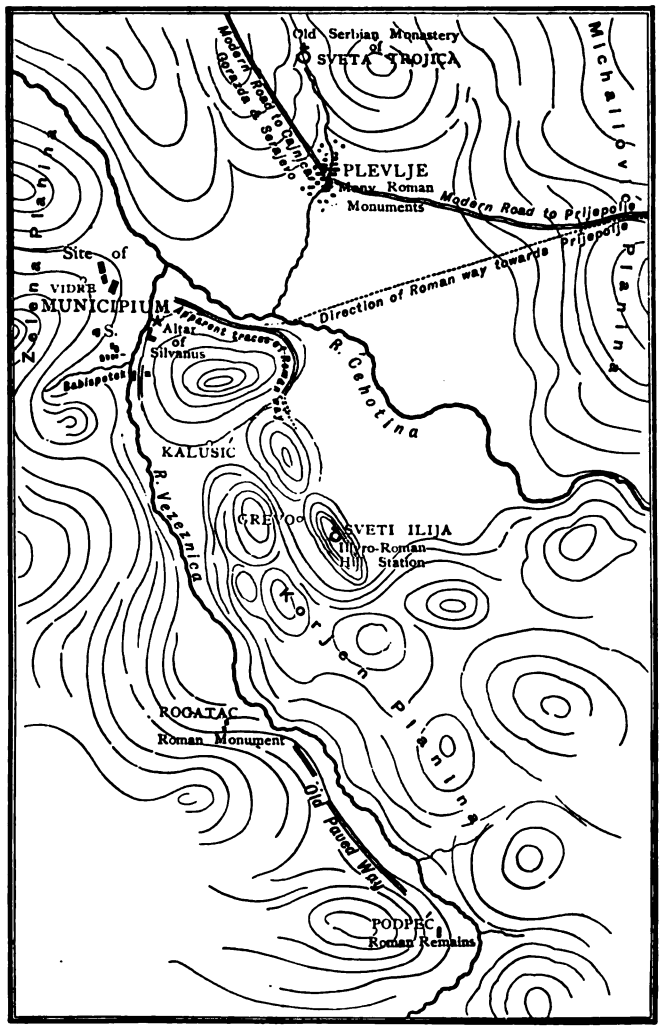


Fig. 10.

Sketch plan of Plevlje and neighbourhood, app. scale ¼ inch to mile.

Ancient remains and foundations occur all along the slopes that overhang the Vežeznica to the West. By the hamlet of Vidre and up the little torrent called the

[a] My own impressions regarding the site will be found to agree generally with those of Herr Müller and Dr. Hoernes as given by the latter in *Arch. Ep. Mittheilungen, loc. cit.* I differ, however, from my fellow-explorers in considering that the ancient site extended also to the right bank of the Vežeznica. I may take this opportunity of expressing my obligations to Herr Müller for his valuable advice, although he was unfortunately absent from Plevlje at the time of my visit.

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Babiš Potok[a] the foundations of walls and buildings are specially distinguishable. Here, in the country-house of a Selmanović Beg, is an altar to Jove,[b] and a sepulchral monument representing two heads in relief; and at Koruga in the same neighbourhood, a house almost entirely composed of fine Roman blocks and monuments, and with a hopelessly effaced inscription in the stall below. Many of the blocks and monuments here and elsewhere on this site are of a peculiar black and white marble, others of a red marble, the same material as that of the Eagle relief described at Gorazda. The remains extend to the left bank of the Vežeznica, where are to be seen traces of what was apparently a Roman fountain, the sockets for the clamps of the stone-work being cut out of the solid rock above an abundant source. Near here, in the mud at the bottom of the stream itself, was observable the well-cut cornice of a large squared block, which with the aid of four men and with considerable difficulty I succeeded in dredging from the depths. It proved to be an altar to Silvanus (fig. 12) raised by a certain M. Æmilius Antonius, apparently the Duumvir of that name, who dedicated an altar to Jupiter Fulgurator at present existing opposite the Čurkovac mosque in Plevlje itself.[c]



Fig. 11.

The third principal site besides Plevlje itself and the glen of the Vežeznica, where the ancient remains occur, is that of the hill of Sveti Ilija, lying about a mile and a half to the South-East of the last-named locality. A consideration of these remains brings us to a very curious part of our subject. The monuments at the spot already described are of characteristic Roman execution. The letters are often elegantly and boldly cut, and the ornamentation, if conventional, comes up to the usual municipal standard. The inscriptions refer to the civic officers, priests,

[a] Near here Dr. Hoernes found a fragment of an inscription reading L . . . . . || CAMBRIANVS || L . P.; apparently *in situ* —"Wahrscheinlich noch unverrückt an seiner ursprünglichen Stelle."

[b] This reads I . O . M . || STATIVS || VICTOR . BRI||ZIDIA . V . L . ƧA. The last line is not quite correctly given by Dr. Hoernes, who gives V . L . P.

[c] It reads I . O . M . F || M . AEMIL || ANTONIVS || II . VIR || L . P.

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legionaries, citizens, for the most part with Roman names. A frequency of Ælius and Aurelius inclines us to believe that the *Municipium* was founded in Hadrian's time, and enlarged by a fresh settlement of veterans in the age of the Antonines.

The remains on the height of Sveti Ilija are generally speaking of a very different character. The inscriptions are less boldly cut and the most important of them refers to the *Populus* and not the *Decuriones*. The monuments are of a decidedly ruder and more barbaric style, and a strikingly large proportion of the names are native Illyrian. There is in fact just that contrast which we have already noted in the case of the remains at Blažui between the hill site and the valley site. The names, the style of the monuments, the position itself, proclaim this to have been the original Illyrian centre, and the discovery at this site of silver coins of Dyrrhachium, one or two examples of which I saw, dating from about the year 200 B.C. affords by itself sufficient indication that an Illyrian staple existed here long before the Roman conquest of this remote part of the interior.

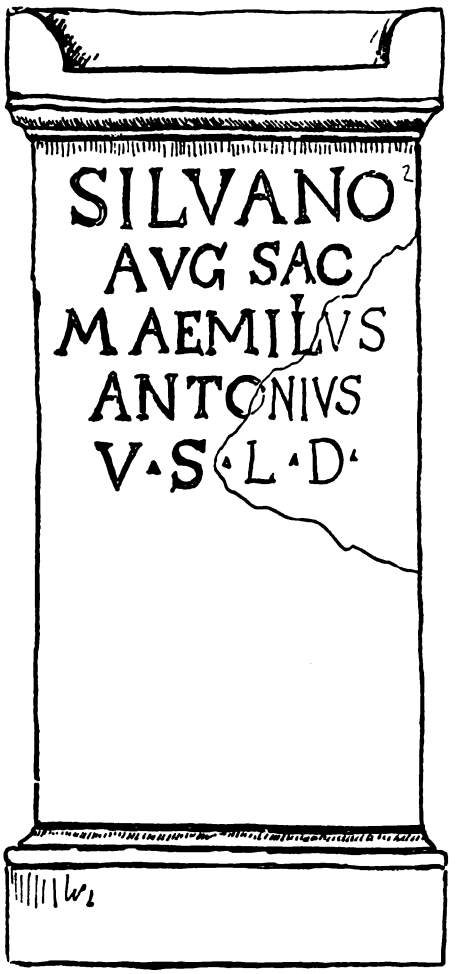


Fig. 12.

The present nucleus of these remains is the little Orthodox church of Sveti Ilija or St. Elias, which gives its name to the steep isolated height on which it stands. This is a small Byzantine building, dating from the days of the old Serbian kingdom. Like the church of Mileševo, built by King Vladislav about the year 1225, it had two stone lions with plaited manes on either side of the tympanum of the inner of its two portals;[a] and there were remains of frescoes within, strongly resembling those in a ruined church near Trebinje, in Herzegovina.[b] This Old

[a] One of these had been knocked away by the Turks, who recently gutted the church and burned the priest's house. I found it in the yard of a cottage at Grevo, below the hill of St. Ilija, with some other ancient fragments.

[b] At the village of Gomiljani the treatment of the drapery was curiously similar.

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Serbian church appears to have been a successor of a still earlier foundation, as I noticed, built into its western façade, an open-work carving of the Christian monogram of the same form and style as those to be seen in the Eski Dzamia at Salonica, a church dating from the time of Justinian. The continuous habitation of the spot in Byzantine times is shown by the not unfrequent occurrence here of coins of the Eastern Empire; amongst those that I have seen was a silver *miliaresion* of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (A.D. 613—641), with the legend ϑeus ADIUTA RoMANIS,[a] and a besant of Manuel Comnenos (1143—1180). Considering, indeed, the survival already noted of the indigenous Illyrian population, blended with the Slavonic, in the surrounding ranges, it is not improbable that the sanctity of the spot has been handed down from prehistoric times. "Saint Elijah," Sveti Ilija, to whom the church was dedicated in the Old Serbian days, is well known to have taken over most of his fiery attributes from Perun, the Thunder-God of the pagan Slavs. Within the church, by an almost startling coincidence, an altar of Jove has been converted to the purposes of Christian sacrifice, and, on a spot so early hallowed, Jupiter himself must not improbably yield precedence of worship to a ruder Illyrian forerunner, the coeval of the Dodonæan Zeus.[b]

That the spot had been used for purposes of interment from pre-historic times, appears from the remains in its neighbourhood of *gomilas* or stone barrows, of a kind common throughout these regions, and dating, as their contents show, from the Illyrian bronze age. From one of these lately destroyed in building a house near Gorazda was found a remarkable bronze "kettle-wagon," a probable indication of an old commercial connexion between the aboriginal staples of this part of the Illyrian interior and the Illyrian Colonies beyond the Adriatic. The sepulture thus early begun was continued at this spot after the Roman conquest. The southern end of the hill of St. Ilija is literally undermined with graves, and the recurrence of native names on the sepulchral slabs of Roman date that have been discovered shows that those who under the Empire continued to bury their dead here were essentially of the same indigenous race as the barrow-builders who had gone before them. The remains were for the most part originally encased in pinewood coffins, traces of which are still to be seen; and

[a] Sabatier, *Monnaies byzantines*, i. 276, No. 59.

[b] A head of Zeus appears on some autonomous Illyrian coins of Scodra and Rhizon.

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these again were enclosed in rude stone cists, the direct descendants of the more massive cists to be found inside the "gomilas." In some cases the skeletons actually occur in a contracted posture, a primitive usage characteristic of the earliest Stone-Age interments, and representing the natural attitude of sleep among savages.[a] I obtained from one of these Illyro-Roman graves sufficient portions of a skull to establish the fact that it was brachycephalic, and with a rather narrow face, characteristics shared by modern Albanian heads. A plot to the South-East of the little church of Sveti Ilija is still used for burial by the Serbian rayahs of the neighbourhood, and some of the graves of these Slavonized indigenes date back to mediæval times.

The walls and pavement of the little church itself are largely composed of ancient monuments, amongst which Illyro-Roman sepulchral slabs predominate. Amongst these the style of workmanship and decoration is rude almost to grotesqueness, of which the annexed specimen (fig. 13) may give some idea. The upper part of the stone containing the busts is bedded into the pavement of the atrium; the lower part with the inscription, which owing to its abraded state has been hitherto imperfectly decyphered,[b] is bedded into the pavement of the church itself.

In this and other examples I was struck with the extraordinary way in which the characteristic ornamentation corresponds to that reproduced in the Middle Ages by the later inhabitants of these Alps for the same sepulchral purposes. There can be no doubt whatever that they simply took on the traditional style from their Illyro-Roman predecessors. The arch and spiral columns, the rose, the vine and tendril border of the above monument,—the trefoil, the zigzag and rope moulding, and the wreaths characteristic of the ancient monuments of this site,—are all alike the stock-in-trade of the sculptors of the later "Old Serbian" monoliths, of which so many are to be found scattered throughout these regions.

It is to be observed that these Old Serbian monuments do not present nearly the same resemblance in characteristic decoration to the more artistic monuments of the cities of the Dalmatian littoral, or even to the better class of Roman monuments to be seen at Plevlje itself, as they do to the barbaric modifications of Roman forms existing on this old Illyrian hill-site. It would almost seem as if an unbroken continuity of indigenous sepulchral art had been preserved here through

[a] This explanation of the practice of depositing the body in a contracted position has been suggested by my father in his *Ancient Stone Implements &c., of Great Britain*, p. 135.

[b] In C. I. L. iii. 6347, Dr. Hoernes read · ADIL · A, and considered that it contained the name FADILLA.

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the days of Slavonic conquest and dominion, to receive a new development in the palmy days of the Serbian kingdom and czardom. It may, at least, be safely said

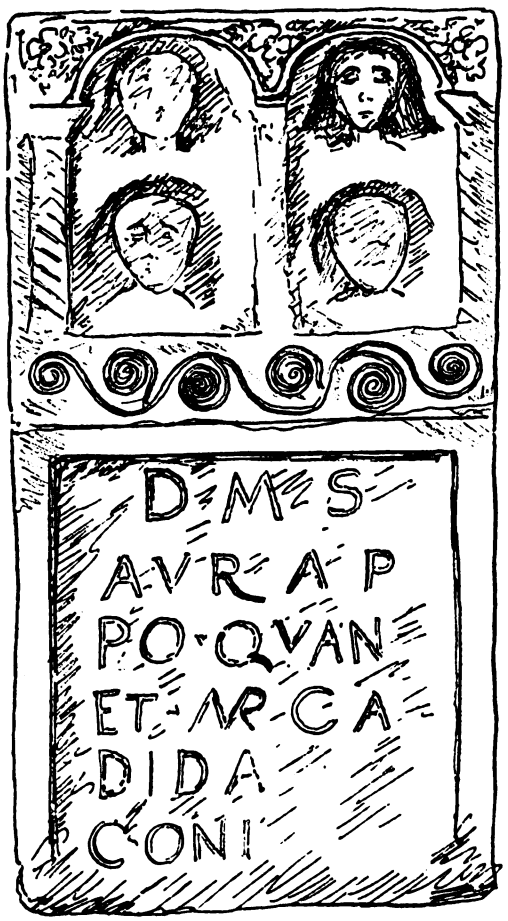


Fig. 13.

that the monuments of the Illyro-Roman cemetery at Svéti Ilija throw as much light on the later monuments of the country as the classic models of a more famous *Campo Santo* do on mediæval Tuscan art.

Opposite the west door of the church stands a huge sepulchral block of cubical form with a gabled top (fig. 14), which, in bulk at least, is the apt precursor of some of the later mediæval monoliths of the country, and which, from an inscription on one side in Cyrillian characters, appears to have been actually adopted for sepulchral purposes by one of the later inhabitants of the land. Its front face contains the half-length figures of a man and his wife, of barbarous execution and of late character; while on the sides are carved two *Genii*, one with a raised, the

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other with a lowered torch, and wearing Phrygian caps like the same torch-bearing *Genii* which so constantly appear on Mithraic reliefs. It is probable that here, too,



Fig. 14.

they are to be taken in a Mithraic connexion as representing the ascending and descending soul, rather than as merely symbolical of grief or the extinction of life.

The inscriptions are of considerable interest as presenting a variety of indigenous Illyrian names, both male and female, with the characteristic ending in —o, as *Vendo*, *Panto*, *Apo* or *Appo*, *Tritano*, *Titto*. It would appear that, in some cases at least, these forms are diminutives of longer names; thus from *Panes*, gen. *Panentis* (of which the Pinnes of history, the son of Queen Teuta, represents only another form), is derived *Panto*; from *Aples*, apparently, *Apo*. To any one acquainted with the modern inhabitants of the country a parallel must at once suggest itself in the Serbian diminitive name-forms of a precisely similar kind.[a] Thus, Panteleon becomes "Panto"; Gjuragj (George), "Gjuro"; Nikola, "Niko"; Simeon, "Simo"; and so forth: of female names, Maria becomes "Maro," and Fatima, "Fato." That this peculiarity was taken over by the Slav occupants of

[a] This parallel has been pointed out by Dr. Otto Blau (*Reisen in Bosnien*, p. 64), who gives many examples.

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Illyricum from the native elements absorbed by them appears probable from its reappearance amongst the Albanians,[a] the true modern representatives of the Illyrians.

Below the church, on the southern slope of the hill, are the remains of the pope's house, recently burnt by the Turks, in the foundation of which are several ancient monuments. One of the stone posts of the stable-door contains a dedication to the Cæsar, Diadumenian, A.D. 217—218, the shallow lettering of which is at present so weatherworn as to be almost invisible to the eye, except in a very advantageous light (fig. 15).[b] It is possible that this monument, though not of the usual rounded form, is of a milliary character; and that it would, if complete, record the restoration of roads and bridges in Dalmatia by Macrinus and his son. In the neighbouring provinces of Pannonia and Noricum several milestones have been discovered with the titles of these Emperors.[c]

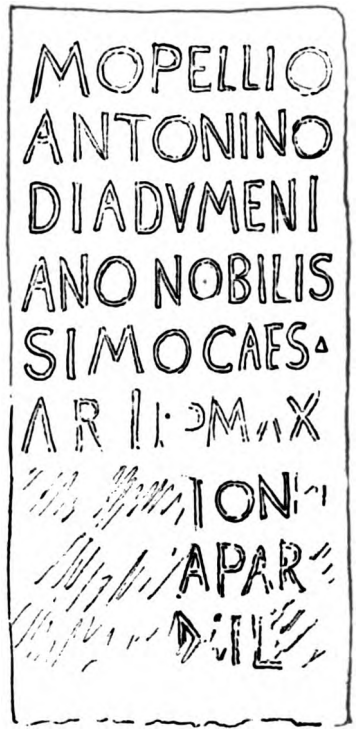


Fig. 15.

The monuments and inscriptions on the hill of Sveti Ilija are for the most part of late date. While among the remains at Plevlje and Old Plevlje, from the actual site of the Municipium S. there are many inscriptions of a good period, some dating, probably, from the beginning of the second century of our era, it would be difficult to single out an inscription on the hill-site of earlier than third-century date. Yet, as we have seen, there are various indications that the site itself was in native occupation in times anterior to the Roman conquest. We may infer that Roman arts and letters, which had reached the indigenous populations of the Save-lands by the time of Augustus, and those of the Adriatic coast at a still earlier date, were of much slower infiltration into these remote Alpine centres. On the hill-site of Sveti Ilija, the first monuments of this influence date, apparently, from the age of Severus. Yet the very memorials that indicate the

[a] Blau (*loc. cit.*) cites among female Albanian names of this kind, *Laljo*, *Liljo*, *Kondo*, *Drano*, &c.

[b] Not in C. I. L. The inscription is given by Dr. Hoernes, *loc. cit.* p. 9. My own copy is somewhat fuller.

[c] C. I. L. iii. 3720, 3724, 3725, 3726, 5708, 5736, 5737, 6467.

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operation of this Romanizing process show us how much of the aboriginal element remained. This survival of the indigenous names in a Latin guise, the semi-barbarous renderings of Roman sculpture and ornament, represent alike, in language and art, the beginnings of a rude Illyrian "Romance" and Romanesque. The mediæval monuments of the country are direct descendants of these Illyro-Roman slabs. The names of "Stari Vlah," or "Old Wallachia," still applied to the bordering mountain districts, show us that the descendants of the Romanized natives, who buried their dead on the hill of Sveti Ilija, lived on in their ancient homes under Slavonic and Turkish as under Roman dominion. Though the numerous Rouman tribes and communities of these inland regions which we learn to know from the Old Serbian chrysobulls and the archives of Ragusa, have long since, for the most part, become merged in the Slav-speaking populations around them, a scattered Rouman population still lives on within the old Dalmatian limits in the valley of the Spreca. The great value of the monuments of the hill-site of Sveti Ilija is that they present to us the meeting-point of the Roman and the indigenous element, and supply us with the first records of the Illyro-Roman race, substantially the same as that of the Roumans or Wallachians of the *western* parts of the peninsula,—predominantly Illyrian in pedigree, but speaking with national modifications the language of their Roman conqueror.

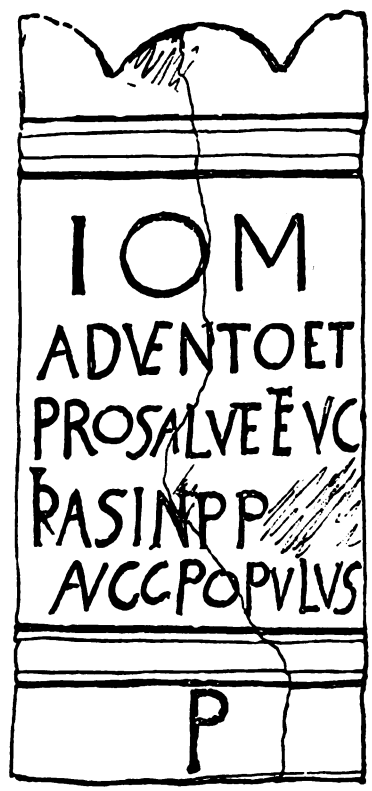


Fig. 16.

One of the most interesting of the Sveti Ilija monuments has yet to be mentioned. This is a votive altar (fig. 16) dedicated to Jupiter, apparently for the health of a *Procurator Augustorum*, by the local *Populus*. Since it was first observed, the right-hand portion has been broken off, but the important part was happily preserved when I saw it. Dr. Hoernes, in his endeavour to identify the Municipium S. with the Stanecle of the Itineraries, believed that he detected on the lowest line traces of an inscription S/A////O///, which he would naturally complete STANECLORVM; he admits, however, that only an uncertain trace of the S is to be found on his squeeze. After a searching and repeated examination of the stone, the result of several visits to

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the spot in all lights, I have absolutely satisfied myself that the only letter is a well defined P in the middle of the pedestal. It is certain that no results obtained from a squeeze can weigh against the impression immediately produced by the monument on the human eye, and I am convinced that the appearances on which Dr. Hoernes based his reading were due to some slight natural irregularities which exist on the surface of the stone.

The natural inference that we must draw is that the P standing by itself at the end of the dedication means simply "POSVIT."

The great predominance of native Illyrian names on the hillside of Sveti Ilija and the generally barbaric style of the monuments show that the MVNICIPIVM S . . . . . lay on the borders of a district still peopled by the indigenous race. To what Illyrian tribe did this Alpine region behind Montenegro belong in Roman Imperial times? The tribe inhabiting the central valley of Montenegro itself was unquestionably that of the Dokleates, who at a later date passed on their name to the Serbian Dukljani. From Ptolemy's list of Illyrian tribes it appears that the northern borderers of the Dokleates were the Pirustæ, beyond whom again were the Skirtones, whose name seems to connect itself with the Scordus or Scardus range.[a] The famous Illyrian mining race of the Pirustæ was originally a branch of the Dassaretes,[b] who inhabited the valley of the Black Drin and the region of which Lychnidus on the present Lake of Ochrida was a centre, and may thus have early exercised their mining industry in the neighbouring silver-mining district of Damastion and Pelagia.[c] From Livy's account of Anicius's campaign

[a] Ptol. *Geog.* lib. ii. c. 16.

[b] Cf. Livy, lib. xlv. c. 25. For their connexion with Lychnidus, see lib. xliii. c. 9. "(Appius Claudius) ad Lychnidum Dassaretiorum consedit." Lychnidus was a central station of the Egnatian Way, and Pylon, a little beyond it to the East, was reckoned the boundary of Illyricum and Macedonia (Strabo, *Geog.* lib. vii.)

[c] The silver coins of Damastion throw an interesting light on ancient Illyrian and Epirote mining industry. On the reverse of some of them are represented hammers, picks, the symbol of fire, and an object which Professor Gardiner, with great probability, considers to be bellows. The exact site of Damastion remains to be identified, but Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, in his interesting account of some of the coins in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (B. i. p. 99, *seqq.*), calls attention to the village name of *Damesi*, near Tepelen, where silver mines appear to have anciently existed. Closely allied to these coins of Damastion are those of Pelagia and others with the legend ΣΑΡΝΟΑΤΩΝ. The attempt of Dr. Imhoof-Blumer to identify the name Pelagia with Belagrita, an older form of the Albanian Berat, cannot be accepted, it being simply an Albanian corruption of a Slavonic Belgrad; Tomaschek's comparison with Pljage is more hopeful. With regard to the attribution of both these places, however, I shall venture some new suggestions. (See p. 89.)

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against the Illyrian King Genthios[a] we may infer that the territory of the Pirustæ lay to the north of that of the Dassaretes proper and bordered on the lake-lands of Skodra. We are told that they seized the occasion of the Roman invasion to throw off their allegiance to King Genthios, and, from the context, it is highly probable that they played an important part in the native revolt, to suppress which the King's brother was called off at the critical juncture into the mountainous region to the East of the Lake. All this, coupled with the indication supplied by Ptolemy, points to their occupying the Alpine tract between the united Drin and the upper valley of the Lim,[b] where lay the rich silver veins that in the Middle Ages gave birth to the Serbian mining town and prolific mint of Brskovo,[c] the counterfeit Venetian *grossi* of which brought down the anathema of Dante on the Rascian king. The evidence of Strabo, again, strongly coroborates the view that the race of the Pirustæ extended into the valley of the Lim. He expressly classes this Illyrian clan along with the Mazæi and Dæsitiates[d]—tribes well within the modern Bosnian limits—as of Pannonian kin, and the appearance of the Pirustæ as mining colonists in Dacia might by itself be taken to show a certain geographical inclination towards the Danubian system.

The names, again, on the wax tablets from the Dacian Vicus Pirustarum[e] seem to be characteristic of a race which formed a kind of connecting link between the northern and southern Illyrian clans; some, like Liccaius and Epicadus, pointing rather to Pæonian and Epirote kinship; others, like that of Verzo and the oft-recurring name of Bato, being as distinctively Dalmato-Pannonian. The territory of the Dæsitiates, with whom the Pirustæ are associated by Strabo, lay in Southern Bosnia, and from the milestone already referred to,[f] which places the *Castellum Dæsitiatum* 156 miles from Salonæ, we should be led to seek for the stronghold of the tribe at least no further to the South-East than Rogatica or

[a] *Hist.* xliv. c. 31, and xlv. c. 43. *Polybios*, xxx. 19.

[b] The scene of the campaign of King Genthios' brother against the native rebels is indicated by his subsequent capture by the Roman general at Medeon to be identified with the hill-fortress of Medun, in Montenegro. This district was then occupied by the tribe of the Dokleates, whose civic centre Doklea still survives in the modern Montenegrin village of Dukle. See *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVIII. p. 84.

[c] Prof. Stojan Novaković (*Rad.* xxxvii. (1876), 1-18) believes to have identified the site of this important old Serbian staple with the site of Plava, in the vale of Gusinje, where according to Hecquard are remains of a more ancient city. It is certain that Brskovo, the Brescova of the Ragusans, lay somewhere on the Upper Lim. (See Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 69.)

[d] *Geogr.* lib. vii. Ἔθνη δ' ἐστὶ τῶν Παννονίων . . . Πειρουῦσται καὶ Μαζαῖοι καὶ Δαισιτιᾶται.

[e] See p. 14.

[f] P. .

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Gorazda. It is possible that the Drina acted as a southern boundary between them and the Pirustæ; in any case, in view of Strabo's statement as to the Pannonian kinship of the latter, it is difficult to believe that in the age of Augustus the Pirustan border was far removed from the river which opens a natural avenue of communication between the ore-bearing ranges of the central Illyrian district and the Pannonian lands of the Save basin. In considering the obscure question of the boundaries of the Illyrian tribes considerable shifting and variations of area[a] at various epochs, due to wars and migrations, must always be taken into account; and, although from the Dassaretian connexion of the Pirustæ we should be inclined to seek their more ancient homes nearer the Epirote border, the discovery and exploitation of new sources of mineral wealth in Dalmatia, consequent on the Roman conquest, may itself have tempted this race of miners to extend their field of operations further to the North-West of their original area. That this should have occurred will appear all the more probable when it is remembered that the three important tribes of the Autariatæ,Dæsitiates, and Daorsi, or Daversi, who once held an extensive dominion in this part of Illyricum, had been reduced to very straitened circumstances by the Roman invader.[b]

It is, perhaps, not an accidental incident that Livy,[c] in describing the settlement of Illyricum after King Genthios' defeat, in his list of peoples who had earned immunity from tribute by their timely defection from the native dynast, mentions the Pirustæ immediately before the inhabitants of Rhizon, an Illyrian maritime emporium connected, as we have seen, with the ancient sites of this part of the interior by a line of Roman road, which, in all probability, followed the course of an earlier native line of intercourse. The name of the modern town of

[a] Strabo, for example (lib. vii.), mentions that the Romans had driven the once piratic race of the Ardiæi away from the sea to a sterile tract of the interior where in the impossibility of obtaining sustenance the whole race had almost died out. He adds as similar examples the case of the Autariatæ and Dardanii, the Gallic Boii and Scordisci, and the Thracian Boii.

[b] *Velleius Paterculus*, lib. ii. c. 115. "Quippe Daorisi et Dæsitiates Dalmatæ, situ locorum ac montium, ingeniorum ferocia, mira etiam pugnandi scientia et præcipue angustiis saltuum pœne inexpugnabiles, non jam ductu, sed manibus atque armis ipsius Cæsaris, tum demum pacati sunt cum pœne funditus eversi forent." The Daorisi, Daorsi, or Daversi had, like the Ardiæi, been a maritime people, and, as is proved by their coins representing a galley with the legend ΔΑΟΡΣΩΝ, had shown themselves receptive of Greek culture. Their original area lay to the South of the Narenta mouth. For the Autariatæ see Strabo, *loc. cit.*

[c] *Hist.* lib. xlv. c. 26.

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Perasto, near the site of Rhizon or Risinium, might by itself suggest a suspicion that its origin was not unconnected with the famous mining race of the interior,[a] and that in the vicinity of Rhizon, as in that of the Dacian city of Alburnus Major, there had sprung up a *Vicus Pirustarum*. In the neighbourhood of Plevlje scope could be found for the mining industry of the race. I have myself seen specimens of silver and iron ore from the neighbouring mountains, and in making the new road there was discovered below the present surface the stumps of a mighty oak forest, which had been felled at a remote period, a circumstance thoroughly consistent with the former existence of extensive smelting-works. Here again the name *Rudnice* shows conclusively that mining operations were carried on in this vicinity in Slavonic times.

At Sveti Ilija I noticed two Roman tiles with the following stamps.



Fig. 17.



Fig. 18.

At Rogatac, a small hamlet in the Vežeznica valley, about an hour's distance to the North of the Municipium S., Herr Müller had observed a sepulchral slab without inscription, but containing a relief of a Genius leaning on an extinguished torch. Hearing of other ancient monuments at Podpeć, about an hour further up the valley in the same northerly direction, I resolved to visit the spot. As a sample of the difficulties which the explorer has at present to contend with in this part of the Ottoman dominions, I may mention that on my applying to the Pasha at Plevlje for an escort to this village he refused point blank, on the ground that no escort he could give me would be sufficient to guarantee my safety,—and that in a village distant less than three hours from his seat of government! I had, there-

[a] I observe that the same etymology has occurred independently to Dr. Simo Rutar, *Starine Bokokotorske* ("Antiquities of the Bocche di Cattaro," in *Program c. k. realnog i velikog Gimnazija u Kotoru*, 1880). "Pri brojenju ovih slobodnih obćina spominje Livij Pirustas odmah prije Risna. I dandanašnji imamo grad odmah pred Risnom, kojega ime, skoro do slova, jednako glasi kao *Pirustæ*, t. j. *Perast*. . . . . od koga znamo da je prestari grad i da narod izvadja njegov izvor već iz doba rimskih carevâ." ("In enumerating these free communities Livy mentions the Pirustæ immediately before Rhizon (Risano). At the present day too we have a town in the immediate neighbourhood of Risano the name of which corresponds almost to a letter with that of the Pirustæ, namely *Perasto*, . . . of which we know that it is a town of great antiquity, the origin of which is traced back by the people to the time of the Roman Emperors.")

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fore, to trust entirely to my own resources, but by adopting the disguise and character of an *Effendi* from Stamboul, and in company of a trustworthy native Mahometan, I succeeded in visiting Podpeć without let or hindrance from the fanatics on the spot. The hamlet itself lies in a beautiful undulating valley, endowed with a singularly rich soil, and overlooked by the forest-covered ranges of Kolašine. On a height above were some mediæval Serbian monuments; a little below were the charred remains of the Orthodox church recently burnt by the Turks (who murdered the last priest), and around it a rayah cemetery, where I found the annexed portion of an Illyro-Roman monument, made to serve the purpose of a Christian tombstone (fig. 19). Like so many of the Sveti Ilija monuments, it formed a record of piety towards female members of the family—in this case an *Aurelia Panto*, and another, *Aurelia Testo* (or perhaps *Titto*)—monumental records which sufficiently attest (what indeed we may partly gather from historic sources) the prominence of women in the primitive Illyrian communities.

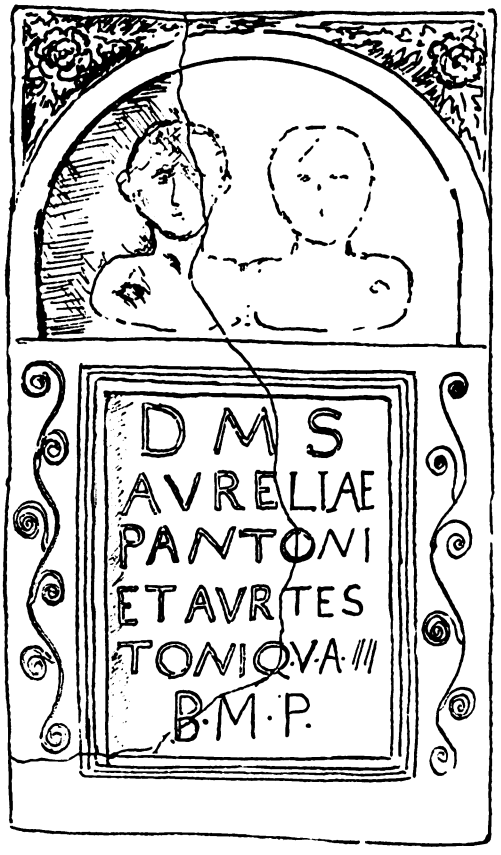


Fig. 19.

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On the same slope of the hill I observed the remains of an ancient fountain constructed of Roman blocks; and it seems to me to be by no means improbable, considering the beauty and fertility of the valley, that a Roman station existed in the immediate neighbourhood of Podpeć. It is to be observed, moreover, that the village lies on an old line of communication between the plain on which Plevlje stands and Jezero on the Upper Tara, a place abounding in monuments of at least mediæval antiquity. The remains of an old *kalderyn* or paved way are to be traced leading up to Vežeznica Valley and past Podpeć in that direction; and the occurrence of Roman remains along this road at Rogatac, and again at Podpeć, gives us some grounds for supposing that in this, as in so many other cases, the mediæval paved-way follows the course of a Roman predecessor.

It would appear that from the Municipium that existed on the site of Old Plevlje two main lines of Roman Way conducted to the East and South-East. From the discovery of an uninscribed monument and some other Roman fragments in the highland glen of Obavde, lying between Plevlje and Brdarevo on the Lim, Herr Müller was inclined to believe that the Roman road which brought the Municipium S. into communication with the important Roman site near Prijepolje took a bend to the South, instead of following the more direct course of the existing road between Plevlje and Prijepolje. The remains at Obavde, however, may very well represent a direct line of communication between the Roman predecessor of Plevlje and the upper valley of the Lim, eventually bringing it into connexion with the ancient city, which, as we have seen, appears to have existed in the vale of Plava and the district where, in mediæval days, rose the Serbian mint-town of Brskovo. That, on the other hand, the ancient road from the site of Plevlje to that of Prijepolje followed the same direct course as that actually existing, appears to me to be established by the discovery which I made on the Cičia Polje, at the top of the pass between these two places and near the present road, of a Roman milestone (fig. 20). The stone, which presents the usual oval section, was unfortunately much mutilated and weather-worn, so that only a few of the letters can at present be decyphered.



Fig. 20.

From this point the road descends somewhat abruptly to the fertile gorge of

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the Seljačnica stream, at the confluence of which with the Lim, at a hamlet called Kolovrat, about half an hour's distance from Prijepolje, I came upon a highly-interesting Roman site, recently discovered by Vice-Consul Müller. A little above the road to the left of the stream was a brushwood-covered bank, consisting entirely of ancient fragments. Cornices and bases, altars, sarcophagi, sepulchral slabs, and lesser fragments innumerable lay about in wild confusion, and in the middle a broken column, and the base of another stood apparently *in situ*.

Two of the blocks bear inscriptions. The first, an altar dedicated to Diana by T. Aur. Saturninus, *Eques Romanus*, has been correctly given by Dr. Hoernes from Herr Müller's drawings. It contains a votive address to the Goddess, of three lines, and in a metre that recalls a Prudentian hymn :—

DEA VIRAGO DELIA
VOTVM FAVENTI NVMINE
QVOD [DEBEO] FELIX AGO.

The second stone, a large square slab, is of considerable interest as containing a reference to an Illyrian Clan and City.

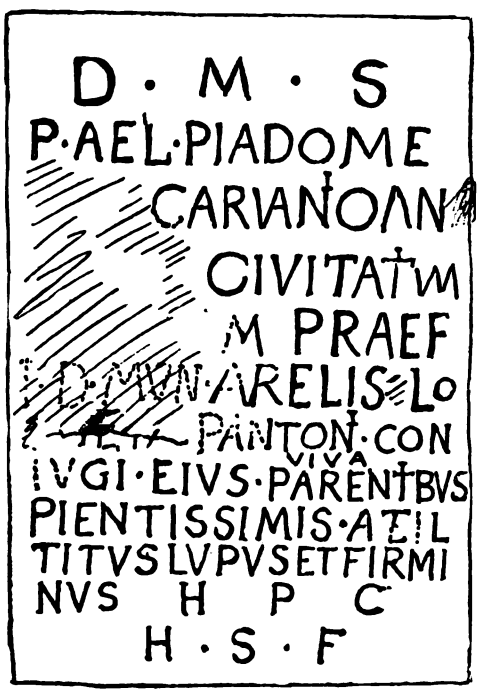


Fig. 21.

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In spite of a lacuna on the stone I was able to trace the first letters of the word AVRELI in monogram, an epithet which sufficiently declares that the Municipium with whose name it is coupled looked back with gratitude for civic benefits to the age of the Antonines. Herr Von Domaszewski[a] would complete the title "PRAEF*ectus* [I*ure* D*icundo* MVN*icipii*] AVRELI S(A)LO(NIANI)." "*Saloniana*" is mentioned by Ptolemy amongst the inland cities of Dalmatia, as lying in the same degree of latitude as Æquum, near Sinj, a district far removed from the valley of the Lim. Indeed, if we are to seek the site of the city here referred to as far away as Northern Dalmatia, it seems to me preferable to trace a reference to the better-known Dalmatian city of Splonum or Splaunum. This city, as we have seen, was one of the principal mining centres of the province, and a native *Princeps* belonging to it was of service to the Romans in exploiting the Dacian gold-fields. In this case the reading would be: PRAEF*ectus* I*ure* D*icundo* MVN*icipii* AVRELI S(P)LO(N*istarum*). Could it indeed be established that the Municipium of the mining community of the Splonistæ was otherwise known as the *Municipium Aurelium*, we might obtain a valuable clue to the hitherto unexplained legend METAL . AVRELIANI upon a small brass issue, resembling in every particular the coins referring to the *Metalla Dalmatica*.

Whether the title in the third and fourth line of the inscription should be completed PRAEF*ectus* CIVITATIVM (MELCO)M, and be taken to conceal a reference to the *Melcomani*, mentioned by Pliny among the Illyrian clans represented in the *Conventus* of Narona, must, in the absence of further evidence, remain uncertain. The further suggestion, however, of Dr. Domaszewski, that the "PIADOME" of the first line contains the elements of two cognomina PIADO ME . . . . . and that CARVANIO stands for the place of origin, can hardly be accepted as satisfactory. PIADOME . . . . I should prefer to complete PIADOMENO, and see in it a slight variation of the well-known Illyrian name PLADOMENVS,[b] while CARVANIO as closely resembles the name of King Genthios' brother, who was captured by the Romans at Medeon, in the present limits of Montenegro, and who appears in Livy as *Caravantius*. The wife's name on line 7 is "*Panto*," and not "*Testo*."

I was able to trace a succession of ancient fragments and remains for about a quarter of a mile's distance to the south, along the left bank of the Lim. In places

[a] *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* 1880, p. 14.

[b] Cf. C. I. L. iii. 2787, "PLADOMENVS . SERA . TVRI . F"; 2797, "VENDO TVDANIA PLADOMENI F"; 6410, "(I) . O . M APLV . DV//// MEVERTENS . PLaDOMENI . FILIV||." All from *Municipium Riditarum*. The termination *domenus* has a Celtic sound, *e. g.* Dumno-vellaunus, Dumno-Rix, Cogi-dubnus, &c.

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were heaps of Roman masonry, showing that the Roman city which here existed must have covered a considerable area. At one spot I found a cornice and piece of the field of an inscription, but learnt that the inscription itself had been broken into fragments by the Turkish landowner in hopes of discovering gold or treasure inside the stone; a superstition unfortunately widespread in these regions.

At Prijepolje the present road to the South-East crosses the Lim by a wooden bridge built in 1550, supported on pillars, also of wood, and prowed so as to look like a row of vessels breasting the current. To complete the illusion of antiquity the bridge-head of this old-world construction is defended by a wooden tower. From this point the track leads up the valley of the Mileševa stream to the monastery of that name and the famous shrine of St. Sava, the Serbo-Byzantine frescoes of which are of the highest interest and considerable beauty. About an hour beyond the ruined peak castle of Mileševac,[a] a stronghold of Serbian Kings and Emperors which protected the minster below and completely commands the defile, I found another Roman mile-stone. The stone was, unluckily, even more weather-worn than the last, insomuch that of the inscription hardly a letter was to be decyphered, but there could be no doubt as to the milliary character of the monument, and its existence may be taken to demonstrate that the Roman road from the Municipium in the Lim valley to the south-east took substantially the same direction as the present track from Prijepolje towards Sijenica and Novipazar.

The forest-covered range between Mileševa and Sijenica over which this ancient highway runs was known to early Venetian travellers as the Mountain of Morlacchia and forms a part of the larger district already referred to, which still bears the name of "Stari Vlah," or "Old Wallachia." Both names afford interesting evidence of the survival of the Romance-speaking Illyro-Roman stock in this central Alpine region on the old Dalmatian and Dardanian borders. The *Morlachs* were not, as has been sometimes supposed, "dwellers on the sea" (in Serb *Morjaci*), but Μαυρόβλαχοι, or Black Vlachs, an etymology borne out by the early Dalmatian chronicler, the Presbyter of Dioclea, who, after identifying them with the descendants of the Roman Provincials, translates their name into *Nigri Latini*.[c]

[a] By the Turks called Hissardjik.

[b] Ramberti, *Viaggib da Venetia a Constantinopoli* (In Vinegia, 1541), p. 6, "Passammo il castello di Millesevatz ed il Monte Molatscidi, che è come a dire Montagna di Morlacco."

[c] *Presbyteri Diocleatis Regnum Slavorum* (*In Lucius de Regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiæ* (Frankfort, 1666, p. 288): "Vulgari (sc. Bulgari) post hæc ceperunt totam provinciam Latinorum qui illo tempore

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In the upper valley of the Uvac, which washes the eastern flanks of this "Morlach" mountain, the village of Ursula still preserves the well-known Rouman personal name of *Ursulŭ* = "*Ursus ille*," "*il orso*," finding its counterpart in another village near Vranja, further to the south-east Surdule, from a kindred Rouman name *Surdulŭ*.[a] It is noteworthy in this connexion that the earliest treasury of *Romance* as opposed to classical Latin names in the Illyrian peninsula, relates largely to the Dardanian province on the confines of which we have now arrived. In the highly interesting list which Procopius gives us of Illyrian fortresses built or restored by the Emperor Justinian,[b] we find (side by side with names which attest the vitality of the old Thracian race and language in the eastern and central parts of the peninsula, and with others that connect themselves as conclusively with the Illyrian aborigines and the Slavonic new-comers) a whole catalogue of local names presenting Romance, and, it may be added, distinctively Rouman characteristics.[c] There is no mistaking the significance of names like

Romani vocabantur modo vero Morovlachi hoc est Nigri Latini vocantur." Opposed to these *Crni Vlahi*, or black "Vlachs" as they were also known, were the *Bijeli Vlahi*, or white "Vlachs," but on what the distinction was founded is uncertain. At a later period *Mavrovlachia* appears as the equivalent of Moldavia. It is to be observed that Lucius of Traü supplies the right derivation of the word Morlach; and to him is really due the credit of having in his masterly chapter *de Vlahis* exploded the fallacy of their Transdanubian origin. The chief arguments adopted by Sulzer, Roesler, and other writers of recent times, will be found clearly and succinctly stated by the seventeenth-century Dalmatian antiquary.

[a] Both *Surdulŭ* and *Ursulŭ* occur among the Rouman personal names in the foundation charter of the church of the Archangel at Prisren, issued by the Serbian Emperor Dušan in 1348.

[b] *Procopius de Ædificiis*, lib. iv.

[c] These names are of peculiar value, as giving us an insight into the nomenclature of the country districts of Illyricum in the sixth century of our era, a subject on which historians and geographers are for the most part silent. The φρούρια of Justinian were mostly small castles, or even mere block-houses, like the later Turkish *karaulas*, for the protection of the country-side. The age of castle-building on peaks has begun, and the sixth-century *Castellum* was doubtless in many cases the local predecessor of the "*Grad*," or central stronghold of the Slavonic "*Župa*." The Roman or Romance names have frequent reference to mineral and other natural sources of revenue which it was desirable to protect, as *Æraria*, *Ferraria*, *Argentarias*, *Lapidarias*; in many cases they contain an honorary tribute to Emperors and Empresses, who reigned in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, *e. g. Constantiana*, *Justiniana*, *Pulchra Theodora*, *Placidiana*, &c. Names like *Castelona*, *Braiola*, *Vindemiola*, *Lutzolo*, *Casyella* have a decidedly Italian ring: others such as *Ducepratum* (? *Doucepré*), *Lupofontana*, *Lucernarioburgus* show us that the neo-Latin language of Illyricum had attained a Teutonic facility for forming compounds. In some instances, as "*Sabini*-bries" and "*Prisco*-pera," Latin and Thracian elements are blended. The Thracian, Illyrian, Slavonic, and Gothic name-forms are of the highest interest, but can only be referred to here.

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"Sceptecasas,"[a] "Lupofontana,"[b] "Marmorata," "Capomalva," "Tugurias," "Stramentias," and other kindred forms. In "Burgualtu" and "Gemellomuntes" we detect already the Illyro-Roman preference for U in place of O. In "Maurovalle," the dark valley, we find the characteristic mixture of Greek and Latin; and the pass of "Klisura," another instance of the same, shows us the most typical of all Rouman name-forms already existing in sixth-century Illyricum.[c] In "Erculente," again, we have the earliest example of the Rouman local suffix "-ente," of which we have already noticed an example in the Herzegovinian *Turmente*, parallels to which may be found in the Cici districts of Istria. Not in Dardania alone, but from the Adriatic to the Lower Danube, from the southern borders of Thessaly to the northern limits of Aurelian's Dacia, there existed already, in Justinian's days, an Illyrian form of Romance which, for better and for worse, had parted company from its western sisters, and which, rendered precocious by its very misfortunes, displayed already features which we recognise as specifically Wallachian. When in the succeeding century the Danubian *Limes* was finally broken down, and the Dalmatian, Mœsian, and New Dacian provinces were overwhelmed with a Slavonic and Bulgarian deluge, we may well imagine that these central Dardanian fastnesses became a principal refuge and rallying point of the remnants of the Romance-speaking peasantry. It is not only in "Stari Vlah" and the mountain of Morlacchia that they have left abiding traces. In the ranges of the Shar mountains that overlook the Dardanian lowlands to the West these traces, as I shall show, are not less apparent.

Beyond the watershed of the "Montagna di Morlacco" the pine-forest gives way to bare downs of a schistose formation, rich in iron ore, from which the road descends into the grassy plateau of Sijenica, the next night-quarters for caravans after leaving Prijepolje. Here I was unable to discover any remains of Roman antiquity, but the square walls of the "Starigrad," or old town, have a curiously old-world aspect, and much recall those of Nikšić.[d] From this place the road to Novipazar (ten hours distant) leads over the pass of Dugopoljana into the fertile and wooded valley of the Ljudska, an upper branch of the Raška. In this glen, still known by the old Rouman term of Klissura, about two and a half hours distant from Novipazar, I observed the remains of an ancient paved road on a

[a] Cf. Wallachian, *septe* = 7. Accepting Tomaschek's emendation of another name in Procopius' Catalogue, "tredecitilias" gives us already the Wallachian *tredeci* = 30.

[b] This compound reminds us of the common Slavo-Rouman local name *Lupoglava* = wolf's head.

[c] This pass led from Illyricum into Greece.

[d] See *Archaeologia*, vol. XLVIII. p. 86.

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stone embankment which crosses the former bed of the river, through which the stream has long ceased to run, by an arch of well-hewn masonry, known as Suhi Most, or "the dry bridge." It is difficult to resist the impression that this bridge (the character of which will be seen from the annexed cut), as well as the roadway it supports, are of Roman origin. In that case we have here the continuation of the Roman Way which brought the Municipia already described on the Gorazda, Plevlje, and Prijepolje sites into communication with the Dardanian and Mœsian cities to the South-East.

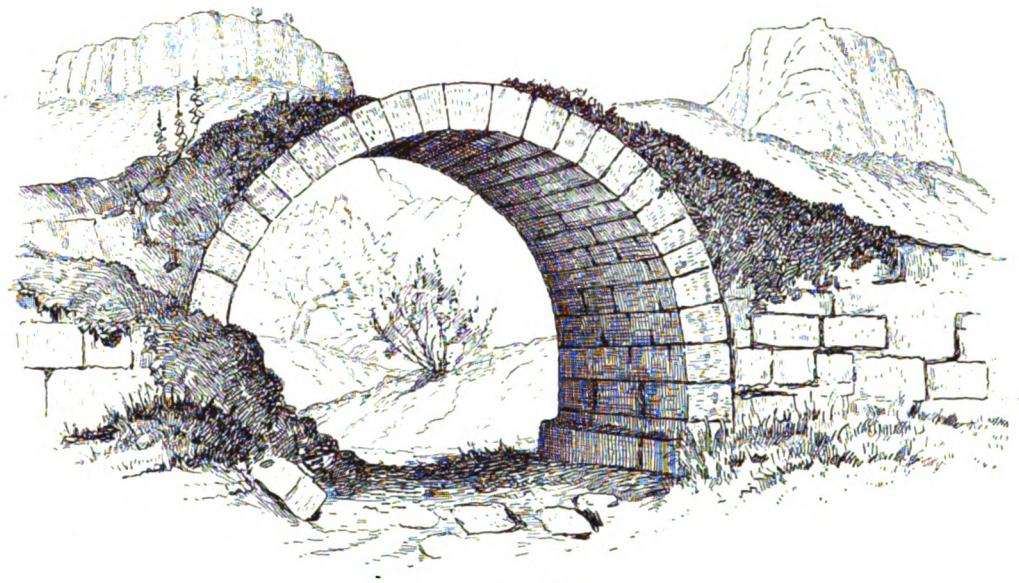


Fig. 22.

About three hours further down the valley, and three miles below Novipazar, on the banks of a tributary brook to the right of the Raška, is a domed, octagonal bath-chamber, built over a thermal source of the highest antiquarian interest.

Undoubtedly the greatest caution is necessary in determining the age of buildings in these Turkish regions, however Roman, or at least Byzantine, may be their general appearance. In the case of the buildings, and notably the aqueduct of Skopia, I shall have occasion to illustrate the necessity of such caution; and in the present instance it is right to observe that the ground plan and general form of this bath-chamber do not essentially differ from those of bath-buildings of Turkish date, specimens of which may still be seen at Skopia and in the neighbourhood of Prisren. On the other hand, in all these parallel instances, so far as I am aware, there are to be seen distinctly Oriental features in the form of the arches and the decoration of the interior, features which are here conspicuous by

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their absence. It may, therefore be preferable to regard the Turkish buildings which approach this form as imitations or restorations of pre-existing Byzantine models.

The bath-buildings of Banja consist of two domed chambers, the first of which, whether built on ancient foundations or not, is obviously of Turkish construction. This chamber is surrounded by eight semi-circular niches, and on either side is a raised wooden platform, or divan, on which the Slavonic Mahometans and Albanians, of whom the bath-guests are composed, lull themselves to their "siesta" to the somnolent purring of their narghilehs, or partake of a light refection of coffee, sherbet, and melons, to the more inspiriting strains of Albanian lays, sung to the wild accompaniment of the national *tambûra*. In the centre is a vase-shaped marble fountain of cold water, surrounded by an octagonal basin, and the whole apartment serves at once as a *frigidarium* and an *apodyterium*.

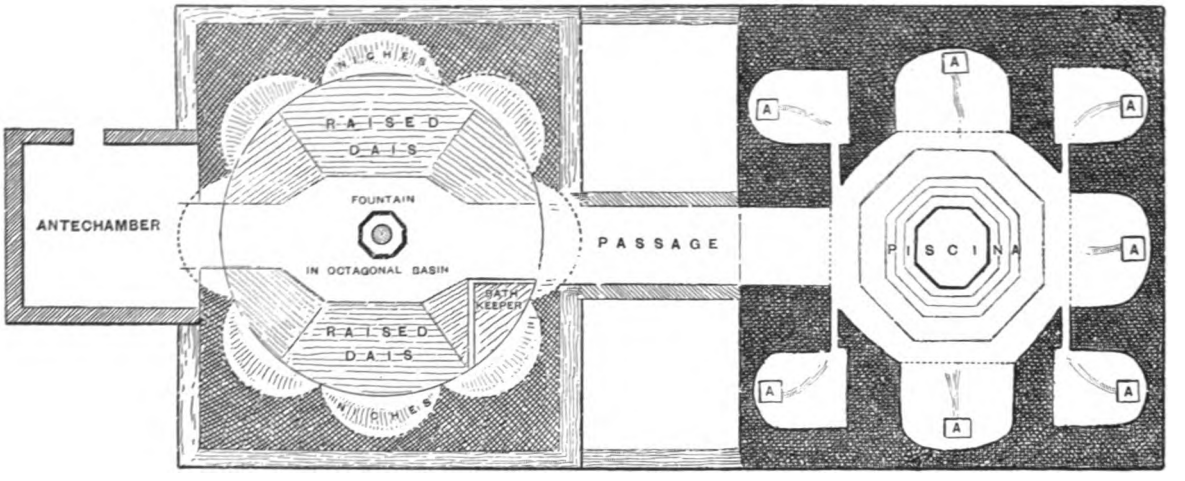


Fig. 23.

From this, the more modern part of the establishment, a vaulted passage leads to another domed chamber, the site of which cannot fail to impress the spectator with an idea of its great antiquity. In the centre is a large octagonal basin, into which the hot sulphur-springs flow, and where, when I saw it, a shaven crew of true-believers were disporting themselves. This central bath is tempered to tepid warmth by cold-water jets issuing from three somewhat altar-shaped fountains, set in three apse-like recesses behind it and on either side. These side-niches or apses give the interior a cruciform outline, and, taken together with the monumental

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fountains and the domed vault above, call up a reminiscence of Galla Placidia's mausoleum at Ravenna. The level of their pavement is raised a step above that of the central octagonal space of the bath-chamber, and in this, as well as the fountain or *milliarium*, in the innermost recess of each, we may trace an interesting analogy to the raised side-niche originally containing a fountain, of apparently similar form, in the Roman bath-chamber already described[a] at Epitaurum.

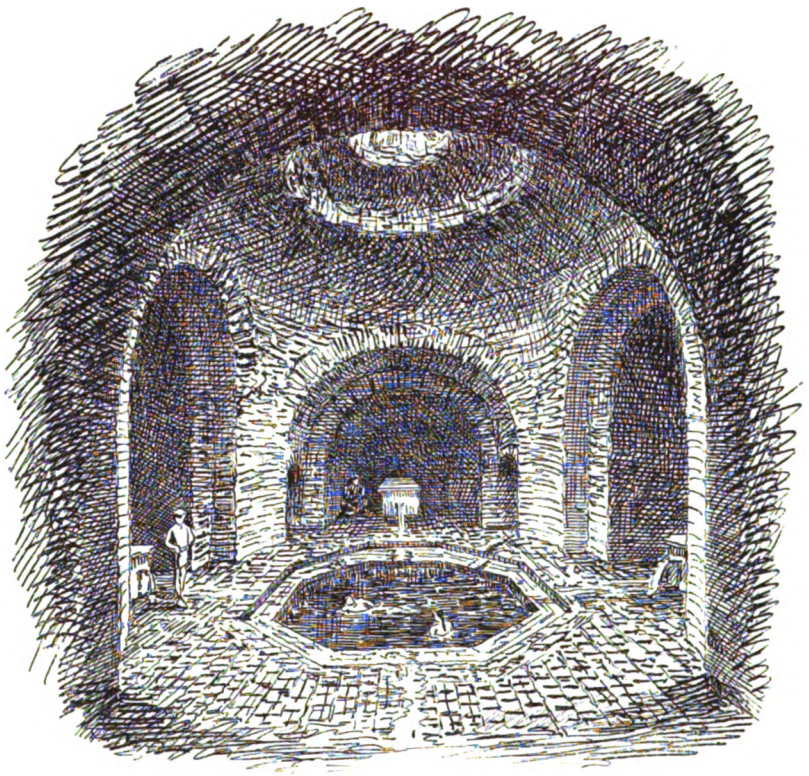


Fig. 24.

The central *piscina* itself descends in steps constructed, like the walls, of long narrow bricks. The domed vault above has evidently at some period fallen into a ruinous condition, and has been somewhat rudely restored, the upper part being eked out with wood-work. At the top of the vault is a round opening, canopied above, out of which the sulphurous and steamy exhalations that fill the whole chamber gradually find their way. The interior walls are coated with a sulphurous

[a] *Archaeologia*, xlviii. p. 11.

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incrustation, but, where this has broken away, narrow brickwork of Roman character is distinctly perceptible.

In the four angles of the building (the exterior outline of which is square), between the recesses formed by the entrance arch and the three apselike niches, are four small chambers set apart for the "Sudatio" and "Calda Lavatio." Each is provided with a square marble fountain, from which issues a jet of thermal water, the temperature of which is so high that I could hardly bear my hand in it; for the purposes of the douche it has, consequently, to be tempered with water from the cold source.

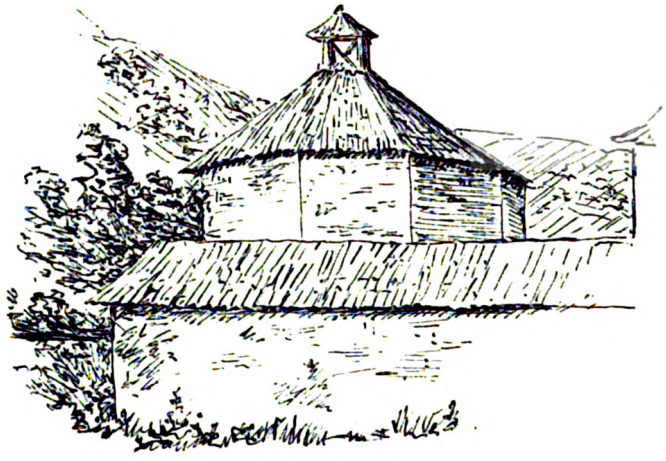


Fig. 25.

The domed vault above the *piscina* of the central chamber is externally contained in a low octagonal tower rising above the roof of the lower quadrangular part of the building, and covered itself with a sloping roof which conceals its interior dome. This octagonal character of the central part of the building, as well as the octagonal bath, the side niches, and the dome externally concealed, cannot fail to recall the characteristic features of early-Christian baptisteries of fourth, fifth, and sixth-century date, such as are still to be seen at Novara, Ravenna, Aquileja and elsewhere. The octagonal *fons baptisterii* of these early-Christian buildings is well known to be identical in shape, as well as name, with the *baptisterion* of Greco-Roman baths; and the steps, by which the interior of the present bath descends, afford an interesting point of comparison with the font of the old baptistery at Aquileja. It is a natural inference that the Christian baptisteries of the later Roman Empire represented in their general form a then prevalent style

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of bath-building. Of this, indeed, we get little evidence in Vitruvius, or in existing Roman remains in Western Europe. The small sudatory chamber known as the "Laconicum,"[a] though hemispherical at the top, can hardly have been the prototype of these spacious Christian vaults. On the other hand, we learn from Timarchos that the Athenian baths were domed and circular inside,[b] and we should be naturally inclined to seek the Christian models in the eastern half of the Empire. The striking points of resemblance between this Dardanian bath-chamber and the early-Christian baptistery go far to show that the *Thermæ* under notice present to us an example of the late-Roman type of bath-building, the existence of which may be inferred from its ecclesiastical adaptation.

I learnt that two "Latin" inscriptions had been in recent times removed from the neighbourhood of the baths to the *konak* at Novipazar; one had since been broken up and the other was lost. There are, however, other remains of at least late-Roman antiquity with which the *Thermæ* seem to stand in a special connexion. On a height that rises on the opposite bank of the Raška stands an ancient church known as the *Petrova Crkva*, the church of St. Peter and St. Paul. This building has been considerably restored and rebuilt at various times, and in so piecemeal a fashion that its present ground-plan is one of the most irregular that it is possible to conceive. Enough, however, of the original church remains to show that it was once of circular form with a low octagonal tower in the centre, which still exists, concealing a cupola under its low tiled roof, and supported below by massive columns.[c] It was in fact an example of the circular mausoleal churches, dating from Constantine's time onwards, as a specimen of which on Illyrian soil we may take the church of St. Donato at Zara. The natives have a tradition that it was originally a temple converted to Christian uses; an antiquity as great as Justinian's time may however be claimed for it with more reason. At present it is used as a Turkish magazine.

It is indeed by no means improbable that both the bath-buildings and the church owe their existence to the architectural activity of Justinian in his native Dardanian province to which Procopius bears such ample testimony. The archi-

[a] The *Laconicum*, being merely a steam-bath, had no *piscina*, as will be seen from the representation of the chamber supposed to be a *Laconicum* discovered at Pisa, and given by Robortelli (in *Scribonius Largus*, ed. Rhodius. Patavii, 1655). This Pisan example is a domed circular chamber with niches, small square windows round the vault, and an opening at the top.

[b] In *Athen.* xi. p. 561, quoted by Marquardt, *Römische Alterthümer*, part v. p. 299.

[c] The jealous precautions of the Turks prevented me from examining the interior.

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tectural activity of Justinian in Illyricum is the counterpart to that of Theodoric in Italy, and the restoration of bath buildings connected with thermal springs as

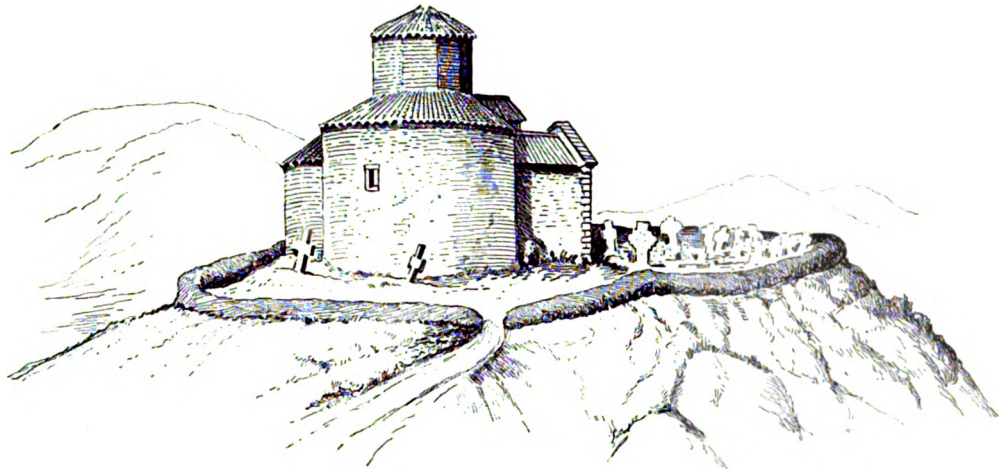


Fig. 26.

well as the erection of Christian temples and baptisteries formed part of the pious work alike of Gothic King [a] and Roman Emperor. But there is, I venture to believe, in the present instance direct evidence connecting the name of Justinian in his capacity of builder with this immediate vicinity. It was here that in the early Middle Ages stood the old Serbian town and royal residence of Raša, on the river of the same name (now generally known as the Raška), which gave its name to the kingdom of Raska or Rascia. Now, remembering that the *Arsia* on the Istrian confines has been Slavonized into *Rasa*, we have, conversely, *à priori* grounds for assuming that here too the original form of this Serbian *Rasa* was also *Arsia* or *Arsa* in Roman times. When, therefore, we find the Castellum of *Arsa* mentioned among the Dardanian strongholds restored by Justinian,[b] we can have little difficulty in identifying it with the later Raša.

From Constantine Porphyrogenitus [c] it appears that in the tenth century Rasa was a frontier stronghold on the then Bulgarian and Serbian confines.

[a] It would be interesting to know know far the bath-buildings restored by Theodoric over the famous hot springs of Aponus, near Patavium (*Cassiodorus*, var. ii. Ep. 39), were the counterpart of S. Giovanni in Fonte.

[b] Procopius, *De Ædificiis.*

[c] *De Adm. Imp.* c. 32. The Bulgar Prince Blastimer, captured by the Serbs, is on his release safely re-conducted *μέχρι τῶν συνόρων ἕως τῆς Ῥάσης.*

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Captured, lost, recaptured, and lost again by the Byzantines,[a] it early became an important Serbian centre, giving its name to the Župa as later to the kingdom of "Rascia" itself. The bishopric of which the church of St. Peter and St. Paul was the cathedral church is mentioned as early as 1020, and in its neighbourhood[b] rose the royal castle and the grander foundations of the Nemanjas, the church of Gjurgjevi Stupovi, the ruins of which are to be seen on the height above,[c] and the monastery of Sopoćani.

The commercial importance of this part of the Raška Valley is evidenced by the rise of the mediæval Serbian staple of Trgovište[d] (literally "Market-place"), later known as Novipazar. It was at this point that the caravan route from Ragusa and Bosnia bifurcated into two lines, one towards the plain of Kossovo, Skopia, and ultimately Salonica; the other, the direct line to Constantinople, taking a more easterly route *viâ* the Toplica Valley, and thence to Nish, the ancient Naissus, where it struck what has always been the main highway of communication between Central and Western Europe and Eastern Rome. In view of the evidence that I have already adduced, all tending to show that the mediæval Ragusan trade-route to the South-East followed substantially the line of a more ancient Roman highway, we are led to conclude that in Roman as in mediæval times the branching point of important lines of way leading from Dalmatia to the Dardanian Plains, Scupi and Thessalonica on the one hand, and to Naissus, ultimately to Byzantium, on the other, lay in the neighbourhood of these Rascian *Thermæ*.

The more southerly of these routes, that conducting to the plain of Kossovo, has, after leaving the valley in which Novipazar and the baths of Banja lie, to traverse the ranges of Mount Rogozna. The present highway first emerges on the level country near the town of Mitrovica and the historic ruins of the castle of Svećani, the Byzantine Sphentzanion. About three hours before reaching this the route passes through a well-watered gorge, in which rise the hot-springs of Banjska, where ancient monuments[e] exist, showing that it, like the baths of the

[a] Τὸ Ῥάσου φρούριον in Kinnamos (*Hist.* lib. ii.) taken by the Serbs from the Byzantines (*Hist.* lib. iii.); retaken by the Emperor Manuel. Kinnamos reckons it a *Dalmatian* stronghold.

[b] The castle of the Župans and later Kings is, as Jireček points out (*Die Handelsstrassen*, &c. p. 77), to be sought in the neighbourhood of the episcopal church.

[c] A description of the remains of Gjurgjevi Stupovi will be found in *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, by G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, 2nd ed. vol. i. p. 273.

[d] Jireček, *op. cit.* p. 77.

[e] Captain Sterneck of the Austrian Survey has given a very imperfect copy of a Roman sepulchral inscription from Banjska in his *Geographische Verhältnisse, Communicationen, und das Reisen in Bosnien, der Herzegovina, und Nord Montenegro*, Pl. IV. (Vienna, 1877).

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Raška Valley, was a Roman thermal station. At Kadiački Han, about an hour to the north-west of this, I came upon a monument which indicates the existence of a Roman civic foundation on a site of the highest economic interest.

At Kadiački Han Miss A. P. Irby had observed a drinking-trough believed by her to be a Roman sarcophagus, and she and her companion were informed, in answer to their inquiries, that it had been originally transported hither from the village of Sočanica, about two hours' distant, in the Ibar valley.[a] The stone-trough had, in fact, been observed in its present position by the Ragusan ambassadors, who passed this way in 1792, and it was recognised by them to be of Roman workmanship.[b] I found it to be, as these travellers had stated, a Roman *sarcophagus*, and was able to decypher upon it the following inscription, showing that the village in which it orginally existed had been formerly the site of a Roman Municipium.

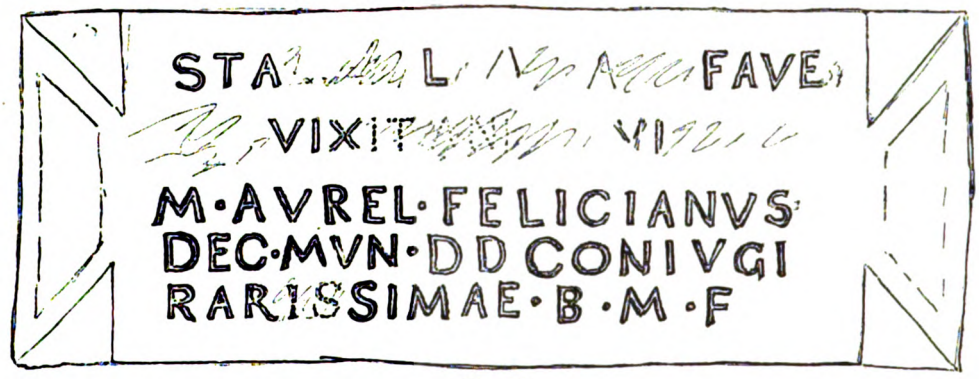


Fig. 27.

It is impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to give the full name of the MVNICIPIVM D.D., of which this Felicianus was DECVRIO. The village of Sočanica, where the monument originally stood, contains a variety of ancient remains, including, I was informed, several "written stones." Near it are the ruins of an old Serbian church, dedicated to St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the Apostles to the Slavs. What makes the former existence of a Roman civic Commonwealth in this neighbourhood of peculiar significance is the character of the mountain mass which here overlooks the Ibar valley. This range is known to its present Serbian

[a] *The Slavonic Provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, by G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, vol. i. p. 262 (2nd ed.)

[b] *Giornale del Viaggio a Constantinopoli fatto dagli Ambasciatori della Republica di Ragusa alla Sublime Porta l'Anno 1792.* "In distanza di un' ora del sequente alloggio (Banjska) trovarono una fonte che scorreva in un' urna antica ben lavorata, ma molto patita, coll' izcrizione latina che per troppo fretta non ebber commodo di leggere." (In Engel. p. 320.)

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inhabitants as Kopaonik, or the "Mountain of Mines." To the mediæval Ragusan and Italian travellers[a] it was known as the *Montagna dell' Argento*, or *Monte Argentaro*, names which it is difficult not to bring into connexion with the "Argentaria" of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, already mentioned as the extreme south-eastern goal of a main-line of Dalmatian roadway leading inland from Salonæ. The successful exploitation of the rich silver veins of this range by the Ragusan and Saxon miners gave birth in the early Middle Ages to the important mining town of Trepče, only a few miles distant from this Roman site, and, somewhat further to the South, the still more famous city of Novobrdo—the Nyeuberge or Newburgh of the Saxon colonists—of which Dr. Jireček justly remarks, that from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century it was the most important civic foundation in the whole interior of the Balkan peninsula.[b] Fabulous reports of its mineral wealth reached foreign countries, and a Byzantine writer goes so far as to assert that gold and silver were literally ploughed out of the soil. When the Burgundian traveller, La Brocquière, passed through Serbia in 1433, he learnt "from well-informed persons" that the Despot obtained from the mine here over 200,000 ducats annually.[c]

The mineral wealth of this district, and its economic importance in mediæval times, makes it all the more desirable that the site of the Roman Municipium, proved by the present inscription to have existed on or near the slopes of the "Silver Mountain," should be thoroughly explored. Unfortunately this European *terra incognita* is still in Asiatic possession, and I was prevented by the Turkish authorities from following up my investigation on the site of Sočanica itself.

[a] *E. g.* Ramberti, *Delle Cose de Turchi*, p. 7 (In Vinegia, 1541): "Passamo la Montagna dell' Argento . . . si chiama dell' Argento perchio che continuamente vi stanno huomini in essa che cavano argento."

[b] *Die Handelsstrassen Serbiens*, &c. p. 55. "Novo Brdo (Novaberda, Novabarda, in Lat. Urk.) Novus Mons, Novomonte der Italiener, Nyeuberge der sächsischen Bergleute, Νοβοπύργον, Νοβοπρόδον der Byzantiner, war, 1350-1450, die grösste und berühmteste städtische Ansiedelung des ganzen Innern der Halbinsel. Von ihren Schätzen erzählte man sich im Auslande ganz fabelhafte Geschichten; der Byzantiner Kritobulos schreibt Gold und Silber werde hier förmlich aus dem Boden hervorgeackert."

[c] Bertrandon La Brocquière, Counsellor and First Esquire-Carver to Philip-le-Bon, Duke of Burgundy, *Travels to Palestine and return from Jerusalem overland to France during the years 1432-1433.* Translated by T. Johnes at the Hafod Press, 1807, p. 274. "The Despot of Servia possesses towards the common confines of Bulgaria, Sclavonia, Albania, and Bosnia, a town called Nyeuberge, which had a mine producing both gold and silver at the same time. Each year it pays him more than two hundred thousand ducats, as well-informed persons assured me; without this he would be soon driven out of his dominions."

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From Sočanica the Ibar valley forms a natural avenue of approach to the historic plain known as the Kossovo Polje, or "Field of Thrushes," and in ancient times, as at present, two lines of road, the Ibar valley line and that which leads more directly from Novipazar, past the Roman thermal station at Banjska must have converged about the actual site of Mitrovica. On the Kossovo Polje itself[a] was found a Roman sepulchral slab, described by the Serbian traveller, Milojević.[b] In the centre of the southern part of this plain lies the village of Lipljan, which, as Dr. Jireček has pointed out, is simply the Slavonized form of the important Dardanian city of Ulpiana.[c]

The old Byzantine church at Lipljan, to which I will return, as well as a neighbouring cistern, is largely composed of Roman fragments. Outside the church I

[a] Since this paper was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a copy of the following interesting inscription found at Batus, in the Kossovo Polje, has been sent by Signor Paolo Orsi to the *Arch. Epigr. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich* (1883, heft 1. p. 146), the ligatures here omitted:

I . O . M . V / PP
D . D . ET . GEN//
STATIONIS
PRO S . DN . IMP .
[SEVERI . ALE
XANDRI] AVG
VALERIANVS
SPECVL . LEG . IIII
/L . S . A . V . S . L . M . AVG .
SEVERO . ALEXAND . AVG.
//ET AVFID . MARCELLO
. . . . . .

Which is there read:

J(*ovi*) O(*ptimo*) M(*aximo*) . . . . . d(*omui*) d(*ivinæ*) et Gen(*io*) Stationis pro s(*alute*) d(*omini*) n(*ostri*) Severi Alexandri Aug(*usti*) Valerianus specul(*ator*) Leg(*ionis*) IIII (F)l(*aviæ*) S(*everianæ*) A(*lexandrianæ*) v(*otum*) s(*olvit*) l(*ibens*) m(*erito*) Aug(*usta*) (sic) Severo Alexand(*ro*) [II] et Aufid(*io*) Marcello [II Co(*n*)s()*ulibus*]. The D.D. in the second line seems to connect itself with the Municipium D.D. the existence of which I have now established in this neighbourhood. Perhaps the preceding letters should be read R.P., *i. e.* Rei Publicæ D.D. The inscription is of 226 A.D.

[b] *Putopis Stare Srbije*, pl. i. (since published by Engelhardt, *Révue Archéologique*, 26 (1863), 141; *Eph. Ep.* ii. 500). It reads: VLP IONICE HAVE BENE VALEAS QVI ME / SALVTAS / D . M / CLAVDIA RVFINA / VIXIT . ANNIS . XXX / VLPIVS . IONICIANUS / VIXIT ANNIS XXV / VLPIVS RVFINVS / VIXIT ANNIS V . H . S . S / M . VLP . IONICVS CO/IVGI ET FILIS B . M / ET SIBI VIVVS / F . C.

[c] *Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien*, &c. pp. 2, 68.

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observed a fragmentary inscription (fig. 28), and the altar within was a Roman sepulchral monument turned upside down (fig. 29).[a]



Fig. 28.

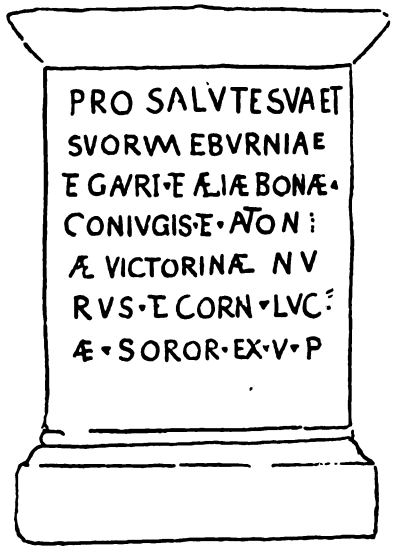


Fig. 29.

About a third of a mile to the North-East of the church is a knoll covered with ancient elms, from which quantities of Roman blocks, including three containing inscriptions, had been recently excavated. According to the engineer, who informed me of this fact, the inscriptions had been sent to Constantinople. Near this spot is a mill entirely composed of the same blocks. The knoll is known as Gradina, and was evidently a part of the Roman city. The clump of trees which covers it—the Lipljanski Dubovi, as they are called, is a landmark throughout the whole length of the Kossovo Polje, and is visible from Mitrovica at the far end of it. The Roman town appears to have extended some distance to the West of this spot, and to have covered the low hilly spur below which lies the village of Gustarica. According to the peasants, the whole of this hill is underlain with foundations of houses, while the fields are strewn with broken tiles and pottery. In the Serbian church at Lower Gustarica I found an altar of Jupiter, considerably obliterated (fig. 30), and by the roadside, a little above the village, was a fragment of another altar to the same God (fig. 31).

Further up the valley lies the little town of Janjevo, near the Latin church, of

[a] The inscription has been published by Hilferding (*Bosnia, Herzegovina i Stareja Serbia*) (*Eph. Ep.* iv. 215) in an incorrect form.

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which is an inscription already described by Von Hahn;[a] while, outside the mosque, lies a fine piece of a Roman cornice. To the North-West of this, on the

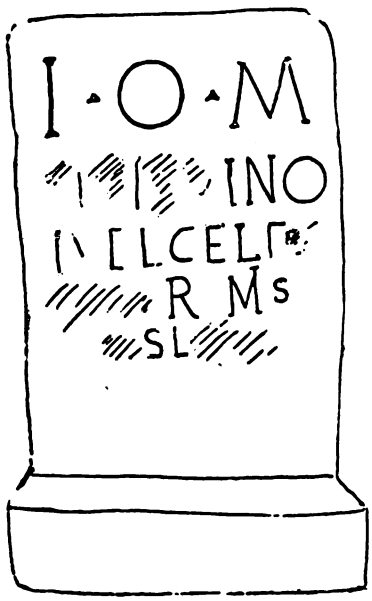


Fig. 30.



Fig. 31.

other side of a mountain spur, lies the old Serbian monastery of Gračanica, with its noble church, the foundation of King Miljutin and his wife Simonida Paleologa. It is obvious that the Serbian architect of this church has laid the neighbouring ruins of Ulpiana largely under contribution. Many Roman fragments are to be seen, both within and without the building, and in the Proavlion lies a large sepulchral block with an inscription.[b] An intervening range of hills separates Gračanica Minster from the considerable Turkish town of Priština, the seat of the Vali of Kossovo and the true representative of Ulpiana in the modern economy of these regions. Here, opposite the mosque of Sultan Murad, I noticed an altar-like monument (fig. 32), which, as I learned from a native Mahometan, had been brought, about fifty years back, from Lipljan, and placed in its present position. Every letter of the inscription had been purposely defaced by the Turks. From

[a] *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 240. C. I. L. iii. 1691. I was informed by the monks that this inscription had originally been found on Mount Veljetin above the town, where there are said to be other remains.

[b] C. I. L. iii. 1695. I could no longer see 1694.

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the few words, however, still decypherable, it appears to have been an epitaph in verse.

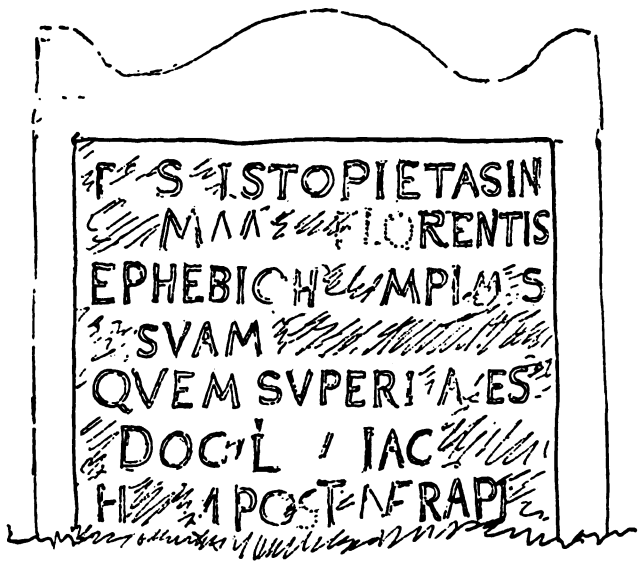


Fig. 32.

Near to the same mosque was a fountain, the trough of which had been formed out of a Roman sarcophagus, containing the lower part of an inscription (fig. 33).



Fig. 33.

A noteworthy feature of the monuments from the site of Ulpiana is their material, in many cases a very beautiful kind of rose-veined marble. It is the same stone of which the exquisite old Serbian church of Dečani is constructed, and was not improbably derived from the same inexhaustible quarries in the eastern gorges of the Shar. In other ways the immediate neighbourhood afforded a natural supply of building material, as I noticed clay-pits within a hundred yards of the knoll of Gradina, where brick-making of a rough kind was being carried on by the modern inhabitants of Lipljan.

The glen which leads from the site of Ulpiana to the little town of Janjevo

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affords interesting evidence as to the industry of the ancient city. In places it is literally strewn with iron ore, and at one spot was pointed out to me an opening in the mountain side, said to be an old mine, with a passage leading an untold distance into the earth. At Janjevo itself there is a chalybeate spring and the whole district abounds in mines. Situated in one of the southernmost recesses of the *Montagna d'Argento*, not far from Novobrdo, it was already in the Middle Ages a centre of mining industry and the seat of a Ragusan colony,[a] and the present occupation of the inhabitants, as well as the predominance of Latin Christianity among them, is an inheritance from præ-Turkish times. They enjoy a special reputation in the Peninsula as metal-workers, and, with their Vlach[b] instinct for itinerant commerce, sell their cheap jewelry and church ornaments through all the countries between the Black Sea, the Ægean, and the Adriatic. The amount of ancient coins, to a great extent from this neighbourhood, in the possession of these Janjevo silversmiths, was truly astonishing, and shows the early commercial importance of this metalliferous region. Exclusive of the Roman and Byzantine coins, including a find of three or four thousand small brass pieces of the age of Valens and Valentinian, and another smaller find in which coins of Claudius Gothicus predominated, I observed Macedonian tetradrachms of Philip III. and Alexander, with Celtic imitations of a class which extends to Pannonia and the Lower Danube, and silver coins of Pæonia and Thasos.

Standing on the knoll of Gradina at Lipljan it is not difficult to realize the importance of the ancient Ulpiana in Illyrian geography. A watch-tower built at this spot would command the whole of the Kossovo plain. To the South the Pass of Kačanik affords an easy access to Macedonia, while the ranges to East and West dip down on either side and open into convenient passes towards the valleys of the Morava and Drin. It appears, in fact, from the *Tabula* and the Geographer of Ravenna[c] that Ulpiana lay on a line of Roman road bringing Naissus (Nish) into connexion with the Adriatic port of Lissus (Alessio). That this high-road was not always an unmixed advantage to Ulpiana appears from a passage of the Gothic historian Jordanes, who informs us that Theodemir the Amalung (the father of Theodoric), having possessed himself of Naissus, sent forward some of his "Comites" by this route, who, passing through the intermediate station, Castrum

[a] See Jireček, *Die Handelsstrassen*, &c. p. 57.

[b] Some of the inhabitants here are recognised to be Roumans; most understand the Rouman language. Their wanderings sometimes extend beyond the Russian frontier.

[c] In Ravennas the name appears under the form *Ulciano*.

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Herculis, captured Ulpiana and took considerable booty.[a] It is probable that Ulpiana suffered from the great barbarian incursion of 517 and from the terrific earthquake described by the Illyrian chronicler, the Comes Marcellinus, which in the succeeding year destroyed twenty-four Dardanian strongholds.[b] When Justinian set about his work of restoration in his native province the walls of Ulpiana were in a ruinous condition.[c] The Emperor, not content with rebuilding the walls and generally embellishing the town, gave it the new and honorary name of *Justiniana Secunda*, raising it thus to the second dignity among Illyrian cities after his more famous metropolis *Justiniana Prima*.

The ecclesiastical importance of Ulpiana is shown by the mention of a bishop from this place at the Council of Serdica in 347 and again in the Œcumenic Synod that met at Constantinople in 553; and it is to be observed, as showing the persistence of the earlier name, that, although the city is officially referred to in the Acts of this Synod as *Justiniana Secunda*, the bishop, Paulus, signs himself *Episcopus Ecclesiæ Ulpianensis*. In the early Martyrologies and the *Acta Sanctorum* the two martyrs, Laurus and Florus, are associated with this ancient City. According to the legend,[d] which is common to both the Eastern and Western Churches, Florus and Laurus, like so many other Illyrian saints, were stonemasons by profession,[e] a fact not without interest in connection with the quarries of the neighbouring ranges of the Shar, the exquisite marble from which forms such an ornamental feature amongst the existing monuments of the Roman city. The two masons, then engaged in practising their craft in "the city of Ulpiana in Dardania," were employed by the Emperor Licinius to build a temple.

[a] Jordanes, *De Getarum sive Gothorum Origine*, c. lvi.: "in villam comites per Castrum Herculis transmittit Ulpiana." The name is used in both its singular and plural form, Ulpianum, Ulpiana. Cf. *Schol. ad Ptolem.* iii. 9, 6; "*τὸ Οὐλπιανὸν, Οὐλπιάνα καλούμενον παρὰ τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις.*" (*Closs. ad loc.*) The mention of *Castrum Herculis*, the *Ad Herculem* of the *Tabula*, the first station on the line Naissus-Ulpiana, fixes the route followed.

[b] Marcellinus Comes, *Chron. sub anno*, 518. See p. 89.

[c] Procopius, *De Æd.* iv. 1.: "*ἦν δέ τις ἐν Δαρδάνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ πόλις ἥπερ Οὐλπιᾶνα ὠνόμαστο; ταύτης τὸν περίβολον καθελὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιπλεῖστου (ἦν γὰρ σφαλερὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ὅλως ἀχρεῖος) ἄλλα τε ἀντῇ παμπληθῆ ἐγκαλλωπίσματα ποιησάμενος, ἔς τε τὴν νῦν μεταθέμενος εὐκοσμίαν, σεκούνδαν αὐτὴν Ἰουστινιανὴν ἐπωνόμασεν. σεκούνδαν γὰρ τῆν δευτέραν Λατῖνοι λέγουσι.* He built another city near it which he named Justinopolis, in honour of his uncle Justinus, an indirect piece of evidence that Procopius is right in making Justinian's fatherland Dardania. (See p. 137.)

[d] *Acta SS.* t. 35, p. 522. The Martyrium chiefly followed in the *Acta SS.* is headed: "Auctore Laurentio Monacho Rutiensi in Calabria," and is written in Greek. The chronology is obscure, the account being divided between the reigns of Hadrian and Licinius!

[e] *τὴν λιθοξόων ἐκπαιδευόνται τέχνην.* They had been originally in Constantinople but afterwards practised their craft at Ulpiana.

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Having built it, however, the Saints one night collected a great number of poor people, to whom they were in the habit of giving alms, and in their presence pulled down the idols with which Licinius had filled the building, whereupon the Governor[a] ordered them to be cast down a deep well.

In Justinian's time, the peace of the city seems to have been disturbed by ecclesiastical factions. Procopius informs us that a force that was being despatched by Justinian's orders to aid the Lombards against the Gepidæ, was detained at Ulpiana by the Emperor's orders, "by reason of an outbreak amongst the inhabitants, due," as he somewhat ironically expresses it, "to such questions as Christians are wont to dispute about."

The old Byzantine church of Lipljan is a very interesting memorial of the former ecclesiastical importance of the place, which was still a bishop's seat in the days of the Bulgarian empire and recovered Byzantine dominion.[b] Internally

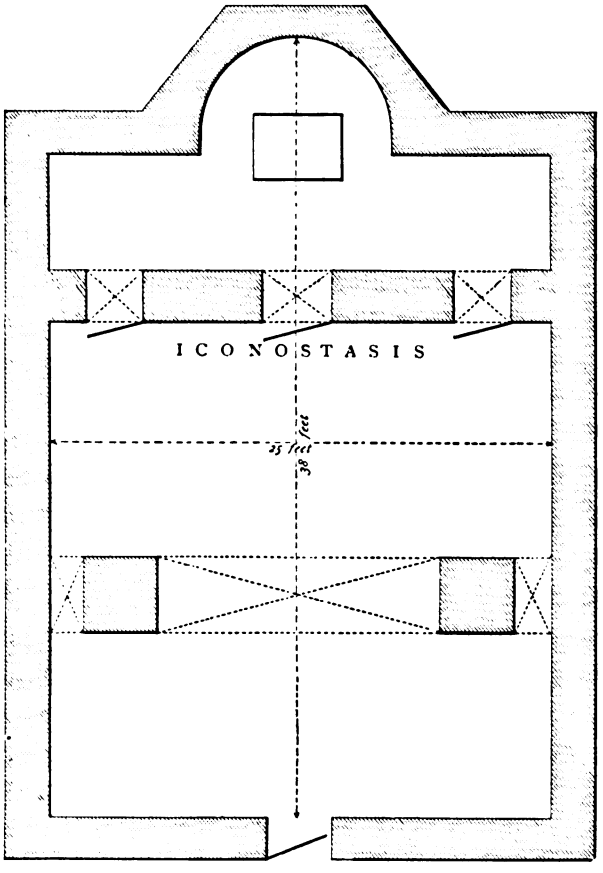


Fig. 34.

[a] Ἄρχων, ἡγεμών.

[b] See the chrysobull of Basil II. reorganising the Bulgarian Church (1020). Jireček, *Gesch. d. Bulgaren*, p. 202.

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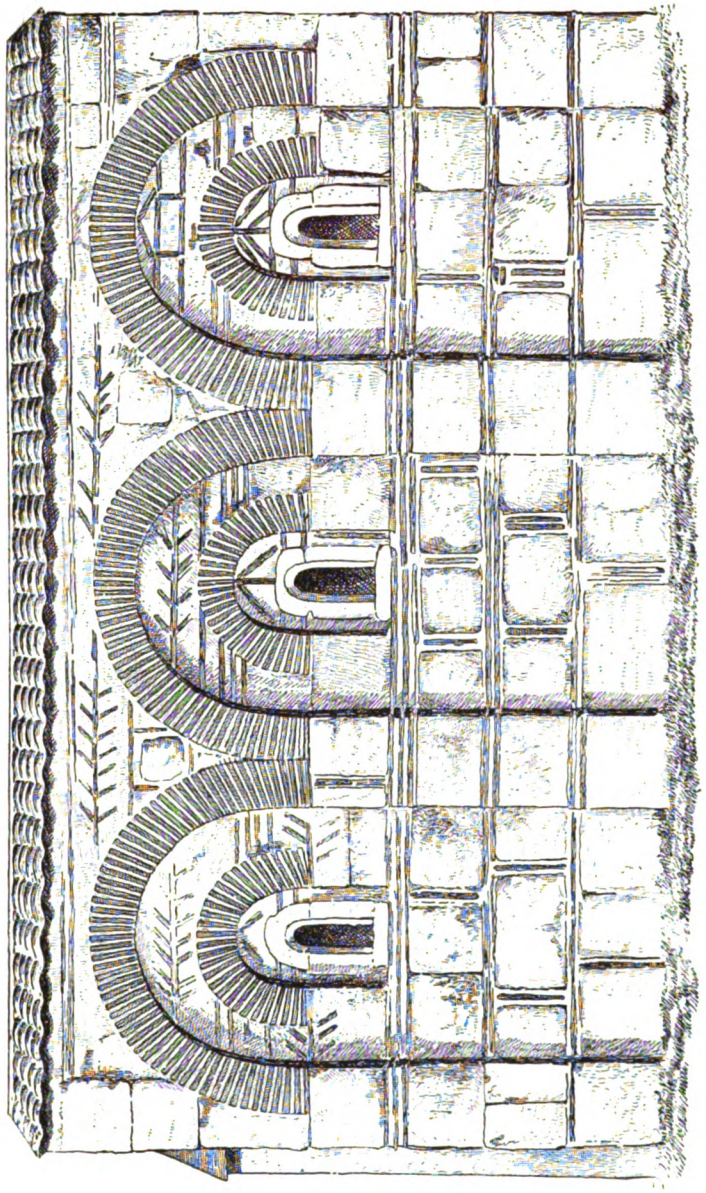


Fig. 35.

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the church shows a regular Orthodox arrangement, the roof being supported by two massive piers and the *iconostasis* wall, the *Proavlion*, however, being a later addition. In external form it resembles a small basilica, terminating in a trilateral apse, a feature which it shares with many early Byzantine churches at Thessalonica and elsewhere, but which also reappears as a characteristic of the mediæval Slavonic foundations of the Skopia district. In one important respect, however, the church of Lipljan differs from all the Byzantine, Serbian, and Bulgarian churches of the interior of the Peninsula with which I am acquainted. It is entirely devoid of cupola or dome. Moreover, in the construction of its walls, it combines to an extraordinary degree the characteristics of late-Roman work. The alternating layers of stones and narrow bricks, the herring-bone arrangement of the latter and the exterior arches, inclosing the small round-headed windows, make upon one the impression of extreme antiquity; and, although these features are reproduced to a greater or less extent in the mediæval churches of this region, it may safely be said that not one of them so completely transports the spectator to præ-Slavonic times as the church which marks the site and perpetuates the name and traditions of Roman Ulpiana.

The regions that lie to the West of Lipljan, and which the Roman road from Ulpiana had to traverse on its way to the Adriatic port of Lissus, are amongst the wildest and most inaccessible of the Balkan Peninsula, and are peopled for the most part by savage and fanatical Albanian mountaineers, amongst whom the work of exploration is often one of considerable risk. Hitherto the course of the Roman Way from Lipljan to Alessio, and the site of the Roman settlements in the intervening region, have not far advanced beyond the stage of pure conjecture. The accepted view, however, is that the road followed much the same route as that at present followed to Prisren, and thence proceeded along the existing track to the neighbourhood of Spas below Mount Krabi, identified with the *Crevenum* of the *Tabula*, and thence to Puka, identified with *Picaria*.[a] Nothing, however, so far as I am aware, beyond a certain *à priori* probability and a questionable similarity of names, has been brought forward in favour of this hypothesis. No portion of the Roman road itself has been described.

On the other hand, I have now obtained a certain amount of positive evidence which tends to show that the original Roman road-line across the North Albanian Alps ran considerably to the North of the route hitherto connected with it. My friend the Padre Superiore of the Franciscans at Scutari has informed me of a fine piece of Roman road running broad and straight, though now grass-grown,

[a] Cf. Jireček, *Die Heertrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel*, p. 23.

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along stretches of the mountain from Dusmani on the northern bank of the Drin, a few hours to the north of Puka, thence to Toplana in the Shalla Valley, and so on to Brizza in the district of Merturi, and the neighbourhood of Nikai, from which it can be traced into the district of Krasnichi.[a] It is known to the Albanians as Drumi Kaurit, or "Giaour's Way."[b] There can be little doubt that this fine stretch of Roman road represents a section of the line from Lissus to Ulpiana, and the fact that it traverses the Krasnichi country prepares us to find it emerging in the neighbourhood rather of Djakova than of Prisren.

The broad open country in which Prisren, Djakova, and Ipek lie, and which is known by the general name of Metochia, has in all mediæval times played an important part in the history of the Peninsula. Prisren itself was the Czarigrad or Imperial City of Czar Dušan. At Dečani, not far from Djakova, rose the royal Serbian church of Stephen Uroš III., the noblest ecclesiastical foundation of the interior of the Peninsula, while at the north-eastern extremity of the plain Ipek or Peć became the seat of the Serbian Patriarchs. The physical conditions which favoured this mediæval civic and ecclesiastical development must have been equally operative in Roman times, and we must therefore be prepared to find that considerable Roman *municipia* existed in Metochia. The abundance of ancient coins discovered throughout this district is at least noteworthy; they include Pæonian and Macedonian pieces, coins of the Illyrian mining-cities Damastion and Pelagia, Celtic imitations of the coins of Philip of Macedon, coins of Thasos, and quantities of the silver pieces from Dyrrhachion and Apollonia, all tending to prove that already in præ-Roman times Metochia was traversed by trade-routes connecting it with the Adriatic and Ægean and intervening countries. Coins of Roman date are equally abundant.

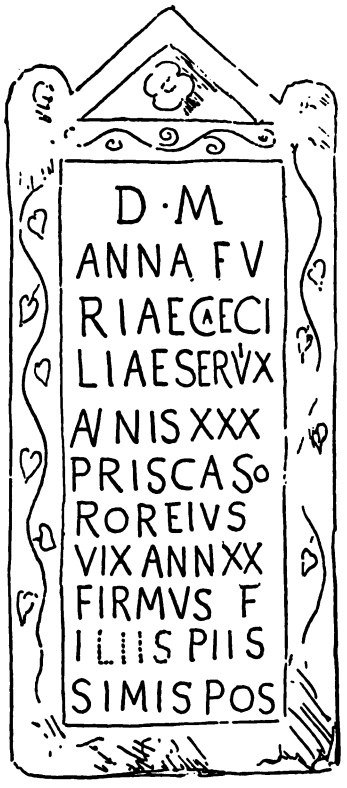


Fig. 36.

At Prisren itself the only Roman monuments that I was able to discover after a long investigation were on the extreme outskirts of the town on the Djakova

[a] In Krasnichi is a ruin known as Giutet (Rouman, Civtat, Civetate = Latin, *Civitas*), but the Latin word is used in North Albania to signify any ruined castle.

[b] Drumi = Sl. Drum = Byz. δρόμος.

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side, and consisted of two sepulchral blocks outside the little mosque in the Jeni Mahala. One of these was hopelessly obliterated, the other I was able to copy (fig. 36). The Roman traces in the Djakova district are more frequent, but the difficulties in the way of exploration, owing to the fanatical temper of the population, are at present almost insuperable. M. Jastrebov,[a] the Russian consul at Prisren, who has occupied himself with the Slavonic antiquities of the district, and to whose assistance I was much indebted, had already discovered two Roman inscriptions in the village of Orahovac, interesting as supplying Illyrian name-forms, and one of them affording a suggestive indication that the predatory habits of the indigenes are of no modern growth. M. Jastrebov further informed me that a Roman inscription existed at Skifiani, between Djakovo and Dečani,[b] but the circumstances of the times did not admit of it being copied. About an hour's distance from Orahovac is the fine old Turkish bridge[c] of Svajan across the White Drin, immediately below a hill known as Gradiš or Gradić, from the bastion-like rocks with which it is girt. The present bridge, traditionally known as King Milutin's work, may be the successor of an earlier fabric. The blue waters of the Drin emerge at this point from a narrow rocky defile cut by them through an island-like range of low limestone hills, and the point is one which an engineer would naturally seize on for the construction of a bridge. I was at least successful in connecting it with Roman remains. In the neighbouring village of Džeržan I observed, and was able to copy, an interesting Roman sepulchral slab with an inscription of a naive and informal character referring to a soldier of the Fourth Legion (fig. 37), which the inhabitants informed me had been taken out of the Drin by the bridge of Svajan.



Fig. 37.

[a] *Podatci za istoriju Srpske Crkve* (Contributions to the History of the Serbian Church), Belgrade, 1879, p. 65. M. Jastrebov informed me that he believed Roman remains to exist at Suharjeka, on the present route from Prisren to Lipljan. He had not, however, discovered any traces of a Roman line of way taking this route.

[b] At Dečani itself I could find no Roman monuments.

[c] Absurdly described as "Roman" by Isambert.

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The peculiar interest of the stone is that it is to my knowledge the only monument from this region referring to the Fourth Legion; while, on the other hand, monuments referring to the *Legio VII. Claudia* abound (as will be seen [a]) in the neighbouring Dardanian basins of the Lepenac and Vardar. The headquarters of the Fourth Legion were at Singidunum (Belgrade), and the occurrence of a detachment in the plain of Metochia suggests some old line of road communication across Western Serbia.[b]

At Peć (Ipek) itself I heard of a Roman sepulchral monument with an inscription, which had been recently found on the hill of Jarina, or Jerina, the old "Grad" or castle named after Irênê Branković, that rises above the town, but I was not able to copy it. About three hours to the North of this are the ruins of the Old Serbian church and monastery of Studenica; and here, a few years since, the Serbian traveller, Milojević,[c] found several[d] Roman inscriptions. Milojević, who appears to have had his head full of "Czaritza Militza" and "Kral Vlkašin," has supplied, it is true, a very distorted version of two of the three inscriptions that he copied. I append them here, however, as his discovery seems to have been entirely overlooked by antiquaries.[e] The ruined monastery, where these remains exist, was formerly the seat of the Old Serbian bishopric of Chvostno.

At the village of Crnaluga, a little to the South of this, at the point where the road from Ipek to Mitrovica crosses the White Drin, about an hour from its source, is an old Turkish cemetery overlying some more ancient remains. The earth here had recently fallen in near one of the graves, and revealed an underground vault communicating with another; and the Arnaouts, who naturally came here to look for treasure, broke into another not far from the first discovered. Descending into the first by a hole in the vaulting, I found myself in a low, barrel-vaulted, rectangular chamber, constructed of small roughly-hewn blocks, and with an aperture opening into another apparently similar chamber. In the first of these, which was half filled with rubble, I found a large piece of a Roman cornice, the

[a] See succeeding paper.

[b] The discovery of an inscription on the Kossovo Polje referring to this same legion (see p. 58 note [a]), now adds additional probability to this conclusion.

[c] *Putopis Stare Srbije* (Travels in Old Serbia), p. 166.

[d] Milojević only copied the three that appeared to him most perfect.

[e] 1. D . M/VELS SADRAGI/TA MAG . DOM . VIX / AN XXXII ET SV / FIL BLAZZIZA V . / . . . PROCVL . VIX . . . . 2. MARCIVS FLAV/ET IVLIVS SER/G . VIX ANN XXII. 3. MERCVL . HAVE . BENEV/ALEA . . . / SALVTAS / D . M / MILIZZA BOSSINA / VIXIT ANNIS XXII YIPI/S . . . . CIA VIX ANNIS XXV / VLPIVS VVLCASSINVS / VIX . ANN . XXX / FLISB MER . . . VIVOS / F . C. For the formula with which No. 3 begins compare that on the inscription from the Kossovo Polje (p. 58), VLP IONICE HAVE BENE VALEAS QVI ME SALVTAS.

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underside of which had been hollowed out apparently to form a mediæval sarcophagus. The other vault into which I descended was of a more original kind, oval in shape, and with a flattish vaulting of rough unhewn stones. It was, however, almost choked with earth and rubble. Whatever the date of these subterranean chambers—the purpose of which was probably sepulchral—the Roman cornice affords certain proof of the vicinity of a Roman settlement; a fact which is further explained by the existence of the copious hot springs of Illidži, about half-an-hour above this spot. At Banja again, a few hours distant among the hills to the North-East of this, is another thermal source,[a] used as a bath, and believed to have great healing powers, where I observed broad steps, apparently of ancient date, cut in the rock.

The traces of the former existence of a Roman civic settlement in the neighbourhood of Studenica and Crnaluga derive additional interest from the existence of ancient silver mines in the neighbouring range of the Mokra Gora. The village where these mines formerly existed is known as Suhogrlo, or Srmogrbovo; and lies at the opening of a pass called Klissura, which leads into the upper valley of the Ibar. Two neighbouring villages, Maidan and Rudnik, derive their names respectively from the Turkish and Serbian word for mines, and traces of the ancient workings can still be seen on the flanks of the mountain. Ipek, itself, is still celebrated throughout the Peninsula for its silver filigree work, and I saw a silver cross of elaborately Byzantine workmanship, that had been recently made here for the Prince of Montenegro. Once more we find the Roman remains of this part of Illyricum connecting themselves with its mineral treasures.

I was further informed by the Franciscan priest at Ipek, that at Glina, a village about five hours distant to the South-East, were stones with obliterated inscriptions, that appeared to him to be Roman. The traces of the former existence of a Romance-speaking population are nowhere more apparent than in the southern part of this Metochia district, where, as the famous Prisren chrysobull of Czar Dušan[b] shows, a Rouman population still existed in the Middle Ages. Of this population there are still isolated relics and it is remarkable that, at Ipek, a tradition prevails among the inhabitants that they were formerly "Vlachs." Several of the village names, like *Sermiani*, *Skifiani*, *Nepote*, *Piran*, *Larena*, seemed to me to deserve investigation. In the neighbouring ranges of Dukagine,

[a] The temperature is only 76° Fahr.

[b] See Hajdeu, *Resturile unei carti de donatiune de pe la annul 1348, emanata de la Imperatul Serbesc Dušan*, &c. (in Archiva istorica a Romaniei, Bucuresci, 1867).

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amongst, at present, Albanian-speaking clans, there is some equally remarkable evidence of the former existence of Romance-speaking tribes, and, although, taken as a whole, the Latin elements in Albania seem to represent rather a Romance dialect once spoken in the maritime district included in the Byzantine Theme of Durazzo, more East Rouman influences, due to contact with the Vlachs of Dardania, cannot be excluded. The word *giutet*, the Macedo-Rouman *civtat*, or *civitate*, is frequently used in North Albania in its derivative sense of a castle rather than a city; and I found the most inaccessible glen to which I penetrated in these Alps known by the purely Romance name of *Valbona*.[a] At Ipek itself, I heard the word *copili* (which is simply the Rouman *copillii*[b] = children) applied by my Albanian guards as a term of reproach for the street Arabs. The deep impress left by these Romance-speaking provincials on the Eastern Albanian tribes of the Shar ranges goes far to show that the bordering Dardanian regions formed part of the original *Provincia Latinorum*, the "Mavrovlachia" of which the earliest Dalmatian chronicler speaks.[c] Here, we may venture to believe, a portion of the migratory Rouman race existed more nearly *in situ*, if the expression is allowable, than in most of the regions to which it has successively spread. The Patriarchate of Ipek was known to the Serbs as "*Stara Vlaška*," and thus fits on to that "Old Wallachia" of which I have already spoken.[d] We are here within the area of continuous Roman and Rouman habitation, to be distinguished from that far wider region in which the appearance of this East Latin element may, as in Istria, for example, and Galicia, be fairly ascribed to later immigration.[e]

[a] I have given some account of Valbona and the *Rouman* traces to be found in that part of the North Albanian Alps in a letter to the Pall Mall Gazette, "From the North Albanian Alps" (Sept. 14, 1880). In the map appended to this communication the upper Valley of the Valbona is for the first time given with approximate accuracy. In the last edition of the Austrian Stabskarte its place is occupied by a huge mountain mass.

[b] *Copillu* is said to be derived from the Latin *pupillus*, on the analogy of *poturnichia* from *coturnicula*.

[c] Presbyter Diocleas., *Regnum Slavorum* (Lucius, p. 288.)

[d] See p. 24.

[e] These local traces of Albanian and Rouman juxta-position, and the deductions at which I had quite independently arrived on linguistic grounds, entirely agree with the general results arrived at by Cihac in his analysis of the Rouman language. (*Dictionnaire d'étymologie Daco-romane*, préf. p. xiii.): "Le point capital et le plus important qui nous permet de juger des relations entre Roumains et Albanais dans le passé,—relations qui doivent avoir été des plus intimes,—sont les éléments concernant la langue que l'albanais possède de commun avec le roumain. Dans mes éléments latins de la langue roumaine et dans l'ouvrage présent, j'ai indiqué environ 500 mots latins, 1,000 mots slaves, 300 mots turcs, 280 mots grecs-moderne et 20 à 25 mots magyars pour l'albanais qui sont identiques

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From the evidence at our disposal we are justified in concluding that at least two Roman Municipia existed in the spacious plain of Metochia; one in the neighbourhood of Ipek, and the other of Djakova. It is probable that this latter settlement answered to the Theranda of the *Tabula*, the last station on the road from Lissus to Ulpiana, although in default of further local evidence the course of the road across the range which separates the plain of Metochia from the Kossovo Polje can only be approximately fixed. The further course of this line of Way from Ulpiana to Naissus must be left to a future investigation. I may, however, here call attention to the fact that a line drawn from Lipljan to Nish passes through the very important ruins of a Roman Castrum and Prætorium existing at Zlato, and which, probably, answers to the station called Acmeon in Ravennas and Hammeo in the *Tabula* of Peutinger.[a] We are at present, however, more especially concerned with the great southern line of communication connecting Ulpiana, and, in a more remote degree, the Dalmatian and Pannonian cities, with Scupi, and eventually Thessalonica,—a line not mentioned, at least in its later stages, by the ancient Itineraries, but of the existence of which I have already, I trust, adduced sufficient evidence.

From Ulpiana this Macedonian highway runs through the pass of Kačanik, which forms the natural avenue of communication between the Kossovo Polje and the more southern Dardanian plain, on which stood the metropolitan city of Scupi, the present Skopia.

At Old Kačanik, which lies at the northern opening of the pass, there is abundant evidence of the former existence of a Roman settlement. Many ancient fragments are here visible; one of these (fig. 38) is the square base and pedestal of a votive column, of the purest white marble, dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, for the health of the Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and of the Empress Julia Domna, who here receives her favourite title, *Mater Castrorum*. It was found at a spot in the district of Runjevo, about two

avec les vocables correspondants roumains. Cette circonstance, assurément très-remarquable, ne peut être nullement fortuite, surtout en ce qui concerne les éléments latins qui ont subi dans les deux langues un changement d'acception presque analogue." It is precisely this last circumstance that excludes Hajdeu's hypothesis that the community between the two languages is to be referred to an original relationship between the Illyrian and old Dacian languages.

[a] See p. 160.

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kilometers above Kačanik.[a] The Consulship of Pompeianus and Avitus, in which this column was erected, took place in the year 209 A.D.

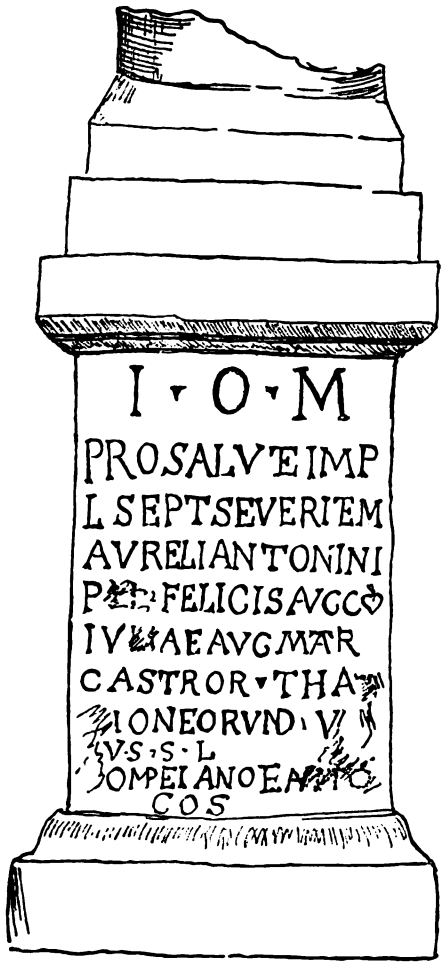


Fig. 38.

Iovi Optimo Maximo PRO SALVTE IMP. L. SEPT*imii* SEVERI ET M. AVRELI ANTONINI P(II) FELICIS AVG*ustorum* . IVLIAE AVG*ustæ* MATRI CASTROR*um* TH . . . ION EORVND*em* *Veteranus* *Votum* *Susceptum* *Solvit* *Libens* . (P)OMPEIANO ET AV(ITO) CO*n*S*ulibus*.

[a] This monument has been described by Henzen in *Eph. Ep.* ii. p. 330, "*ad ectypon quod misit Morten Noe.*" My copy, however, which I made and very carefully collated on the spot, differs in line 9 and in other details. This monument, as well as the milestone (fig. 40), has been lately removed to the garden of the railway engineer at Kačanik; this place lying on the new line from Salonica to Mitrovica.

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Another monument (fig. 39), a small altar, 21 inches high by 12 broad, proved to be of the highest interest, as containing a dedication to a hitherto unknown, probably Illyrian, God. The inscription informs us that it was consecrated by a Beneficiarius Consularis of the VIIth Claudian Legion to the God "Andinus." It is to be observed that what is apparently the same word, under slightly variant forms, is to be found in the feminine names *Andena*, *Anduenna*, and the compound *Andunocnes*, amongst the Illyrian personal names (belonging mostly to the mining race of the Pirustæ) found on the Dacian monuments and wax tablets. The similarity between these name-forms and the *Deus Andinus* of the present monument gives us ground for assuming that we have here the name of an Illyrian divinity which also entered into the composition of some native proper names. It is probable that the Legionary who raised the altar (to whatever nationality he himself may have belonged) was desirous of conciliating the indigenous Dardanian god of the place where he was stationed, just as in Britain we find Roman soldiers raising monuments to local gods like Belatucader or Antinociticus.

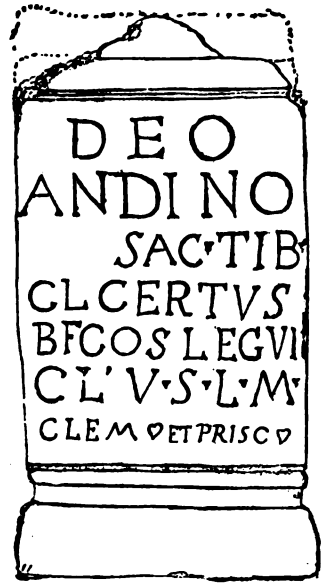


Fig. 39.

DEO ANDINO SAC*rum*. TIB*erius* CL*audius* CERTVS
BENE*ficiarius* CO*nsularis* LEG*ionis* VII CL*audiæ*, V*otum*
S*olvit* L*ibens* M*erito*. CLEM*ente* ET PRISCO (C*onsulibus*).[a]

[a] Clemens and Priscus do not appear together in the *Fasti Consulares*. In 195 A.D. we find Tertullus and *Clemens* Consuls; in 196 Dexter and *Priscus;* it is probable, therefore, that the

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Considering that Dardania, the region with which we are at present concerned, was included during the first centuries of the Empire within the limits of Mœsia Superior, and that the chief Mœsian City, Viminacium (the modern Kostolac on the Danube) was the headquarters of the *Legio VII. Claudia*, it is natural enough

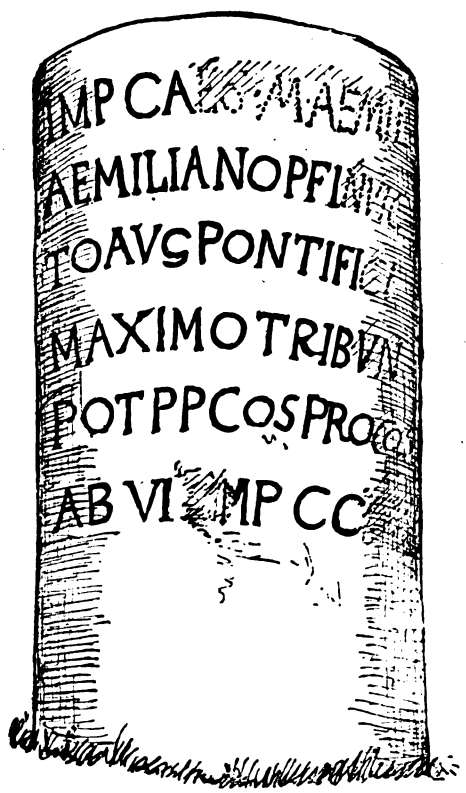


Fig. 40.

IMP*eratori* CAE*S.M.AEMILIO* | AEMILIANO P*io* F*elici* IN*VICTO* | AVGUSTO PONTIFI*CI* MAXIMO TRIBVN*icia* | POT*estate* P*ater* P*atriae* CO*nsul* PROCO*nsul* AB VI*minacio* M.P.CC . .

inscription belongs to one or the other of these years. Since this paper was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a copy of this and the milestone on p. 74 has appeared in the *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1883, part i. p. 145, on the strength of somewhat imperfect paper-casts sent by Signor Paolo Orsi of Rovereto. The name is there wrongly given ANDENVS and COS is added after PRISCO, which I did not see on the stone. With regard to the date Dr. Otto Hirschfeld remarks: "Vielleicht von J. 73? Der Name des Collegen im ersten Consulat des M. Arrecinus Clemens ist nicht bekannt." But from the character of the letters the inscription cannot be of earlier date than the end of the second century of our æra. Sig. Orsi's copy of the milestone of Æmilian is still more imperfect, the important part being omitted.

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that we should find a reference to this Legion among the Kačanik monuments. I am able to describe another monument, a milestone lately discovered in the bed of the Lepenac about two miles above Kačanik, which supplies another and important link of connexion with the great Danubian city. The milestone itself is about three feet high, and is remarkable as presenting the name of the Emperor Æmilian, whose reign extended over less than four months, and of whom very few monuments have been hitherto discovered. Æmilian, we are informed, was chosen Emperor in Mœsia,[a] and the present inscription affords interesting evidence that, short as was his dominion, he was able to confer some lasting engineering benefit on his Mœsian province.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the VI . . of the last line of the inscription is to be completed VI(M). for VIMINACIO.[b] Viminacium,[c] itself, being the meeting-point of the great roads leading in one direction to Singidunum, Sirmium and Italy, in the other to Naissus and Constantinople, and in others again to the cities of Trajan's Dacia, and of the lower Danube, would be the natural *terminus a quo* of any Mœsian road-line. From Scupi itself there was probably, as I shall show,[d] a shorter route to Naissus and Viminacium by the valley of the Bulgarian Morava, which answers to that described in the *Tabula;* but from a Municipium at or near Kačanik the natural route would be *viâ* Ulpiana. The present milestone may therefore be taken as lying on a road which in one sense was a line of communication between Scupi, Ulpiana, and the Dalmatian borders, but which also served as an alternative route to the Danubian place of arms, and on which the mileage was naturally reckoned from Viminacium. The distance given, as far as can at present be decyphered—two hundred and odd Roman miles—tallies very well with the actual distance to Viminacium. From Kačanik, where this *milliarium* was found, to Lipljan, the site of Ulpiana, is about twenty-two Roman miles. From

[a] Aur. Victor, *Epitome*, c. xxxi; Eutropius, ix. 5; Zozimus, lib. i. speaks of Æmilian as Παιωνικῶν ἡγούμενος τάξεων = *Dux Pannonicorum ordinum*, and mentions a great victory gained by him over the barbarians who were then overrunning Illyricum.

[b] Forms like ABVERTO show the possibility of AB before V which was pronounced as W. AB VLC*inio* is a possible but not probable alternative.

[c] Some account of the antiquities of Viminacium has been given by Kanitz, *Beitrage zur Alterthumskunde der Serbischen Donau*, in *Mitth. d. k. k. Central Commission*, 1867, p. 28 *seqq.*) It was Trajan's chief base of operations in his Dacian campaigns, and was one of the principal stations of the Danubian fleet, as well as the headquarters of the Seventh Legion. The *Leg. VII. Claudia* is referred to on its autonomous coins and monuments, and tiles are found here with its stamp.

[d] See p. 153 *seqq.*

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Ulpiana onwards the *Tabula Peutingeriana* supplies us with the total distance by road to Naissus of seventy-nine miles; and the same authority gives one hundred and thirteen miles as the distance from Naissus by road to Viminacium.[a] This gives us altogether two hundred and fourteen miles.

It is probable that the road to which this milestone belonged crossed the Lepenac near the spot where it was found. Between Kačanik and Eles Han the Roman Way itself is very clearly perceptible, coasting the mountain side above the right bank of the stream. In places a regular terrace is cut out of the rocky steep at a mean elevation of about one hundred and fifty feet above the Lepenac. At times the road descends at a considerable gradient, though still straight and even as a hand-rule, and in parts showing its original pavement. Near Eles Han it appears to have crossed the river by a bridge now destroyed; and here, on the left bank of the stream, and near the modern road which henceforth follows the Roman track through the pass, is still to be seen a remarkable milliary column. The copy which I append is the result of repeated visits to the stone, which, it

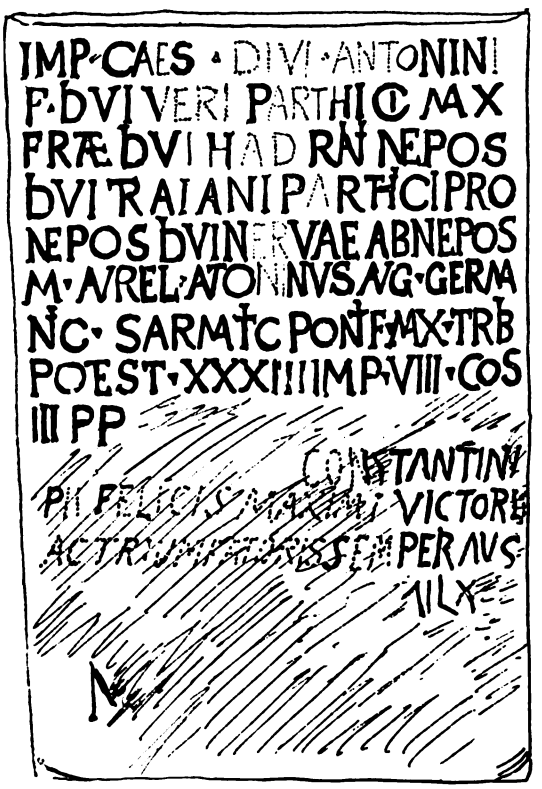


Fig. 41.

[a] In the *Itinerary of Antonine*, 118, M.P.

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will be seen, bears inscriptions of two periods, one in honour of Marcus Aurelius, and the other, apparently, of Constantine.[a]

A few miles beyond Eles Han the pass opens into the broad plain of the Upper Vardar, across which the Roman Way pursued its course to the site of Scupi, the old Dardanian Metropolis, while the modern road, leaving the old line to the right, leads past the arches of an ancient aqueduct to the modern city of Skopia, or Üsküp.

[a] A copy of this inscription has been given by Henzen in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, from a paper-cast that had been sent him by an engineer.

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IV.—SCUPI, SKOPIA,

AND

THE BIRTHPLACE OF JUSTINIAN,

WITH NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD-LINE SCUPI—NAISSUS —REMESIANA.

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SCUPI, SKOPIA, AND THE BIRTHPLACE OF JUSTINIAN.

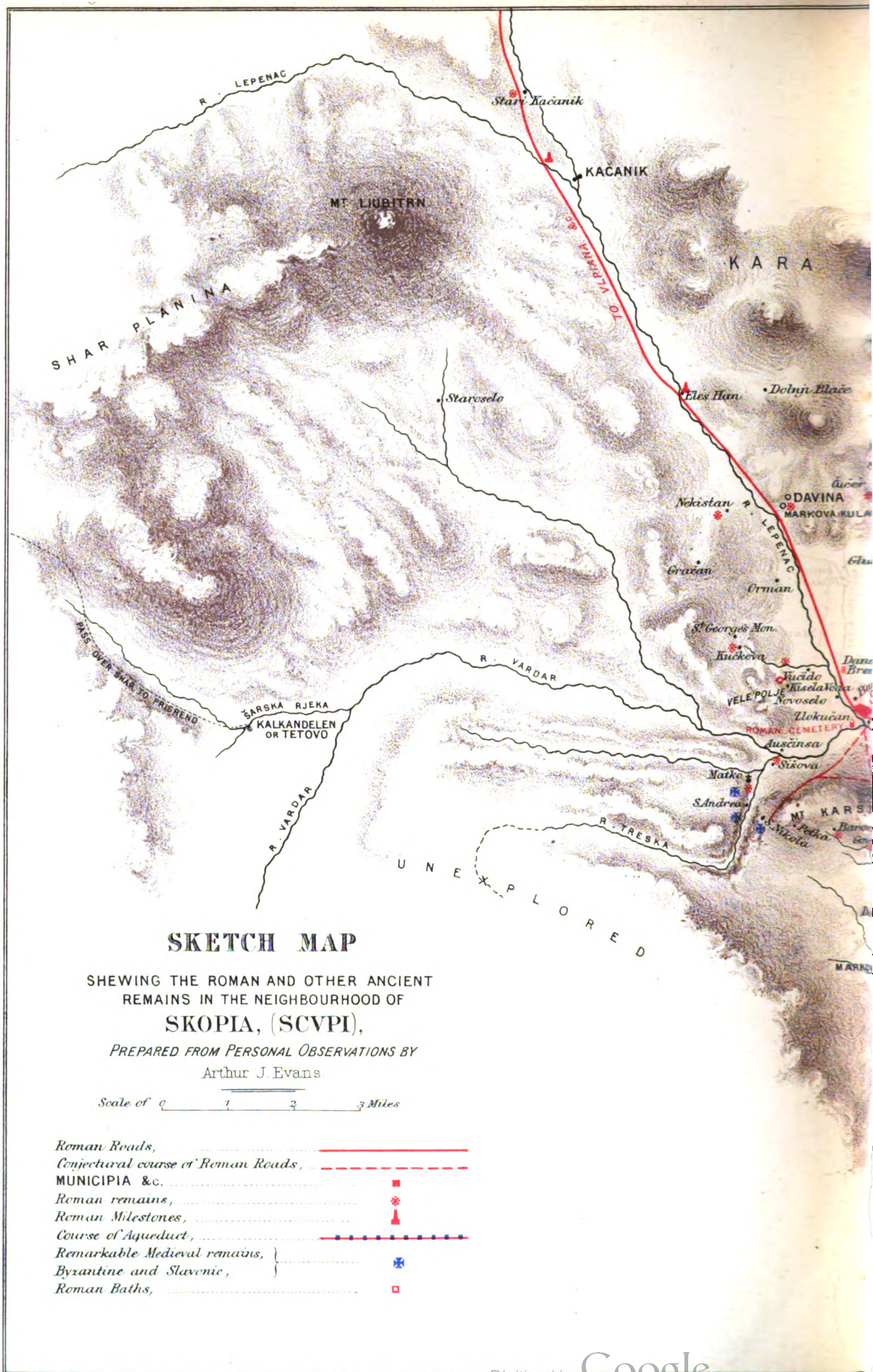
On emerging from the pass of Kačanik to the South the traveller finds himself in the spacious plain of Skopia, the Turkish Üsküp, and the modern and mediæval successor of Scupi, the Dardanian metropolis. Whether regarded from the point of view of strategy or commerce the position is splendid, and the town forms the natural key to a large part of Western Illyricum. To the North the Lepenac cleaves a passage between the Easternmost promontories of the Shar and the Karadagh of Skopia—a passage threaded as we have seen by a Roman road which brought the Dardanian capital into connexion with the Dalmatian ports on one side, and on the other with Singidunum and the great Pannonian cities. To the West the Vardar and its tributaries open a way through what is now the plain of Tetovo, to little-explored Illyrian regions, once probably the scene of extensive mining industry. To the East the forest-covered ranges of the Karadagh dip down to form an easy avenue of communication,—through what was once erroneously supposed to be the central chain of the Balkans,—with the Upper Valley of the Bulgarian Morava, and thence *viâ* Nish, the ancient Naissus, with the great staple and stronghold of the Middle Danube in Roman times, Viminacium. To the South the Iron Gates of the Vardar, the Axios of classic times, bring the Dardanian city into connexion with the Pæonian emporium of Stobi, the Macedonian plains, and ultimately, Thessalonica. Thus, it will be seen, that the site of Scupi lies at the crossing-point of great natural routes across the Western part of the Illyrian Peninsula. To those approaching the Ægean port from the Middle Danube it occupied a position almost precisely analogous to that held by Serdica on the military road to Constantinople. In making, as I hope to show, the Dardanian Metropolis the seat of government for his new-constituted Illyrian præfecture, Justinian displayed a true appreciation of the important function which the land of his birth and the city of his affection were destined by nature to play in the economy of the Western half of the Peninsula. Eight centuries later we find the Serbian Kral Dušan, placing on his brow the imperial crown of all the Illyrian lands, within the walls of Skopia.

The first account of the antiquities of Skopia was due to the English traveller, Dr. Edward Brown, son of Sir Thomas, who published a relation of his travels in

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SKETCH MAP

SHEWING THE ROMAN AND OTHER ANCIENT REMAINS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF

SKOPIA, (SCVPI),

PREPARED FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS BY

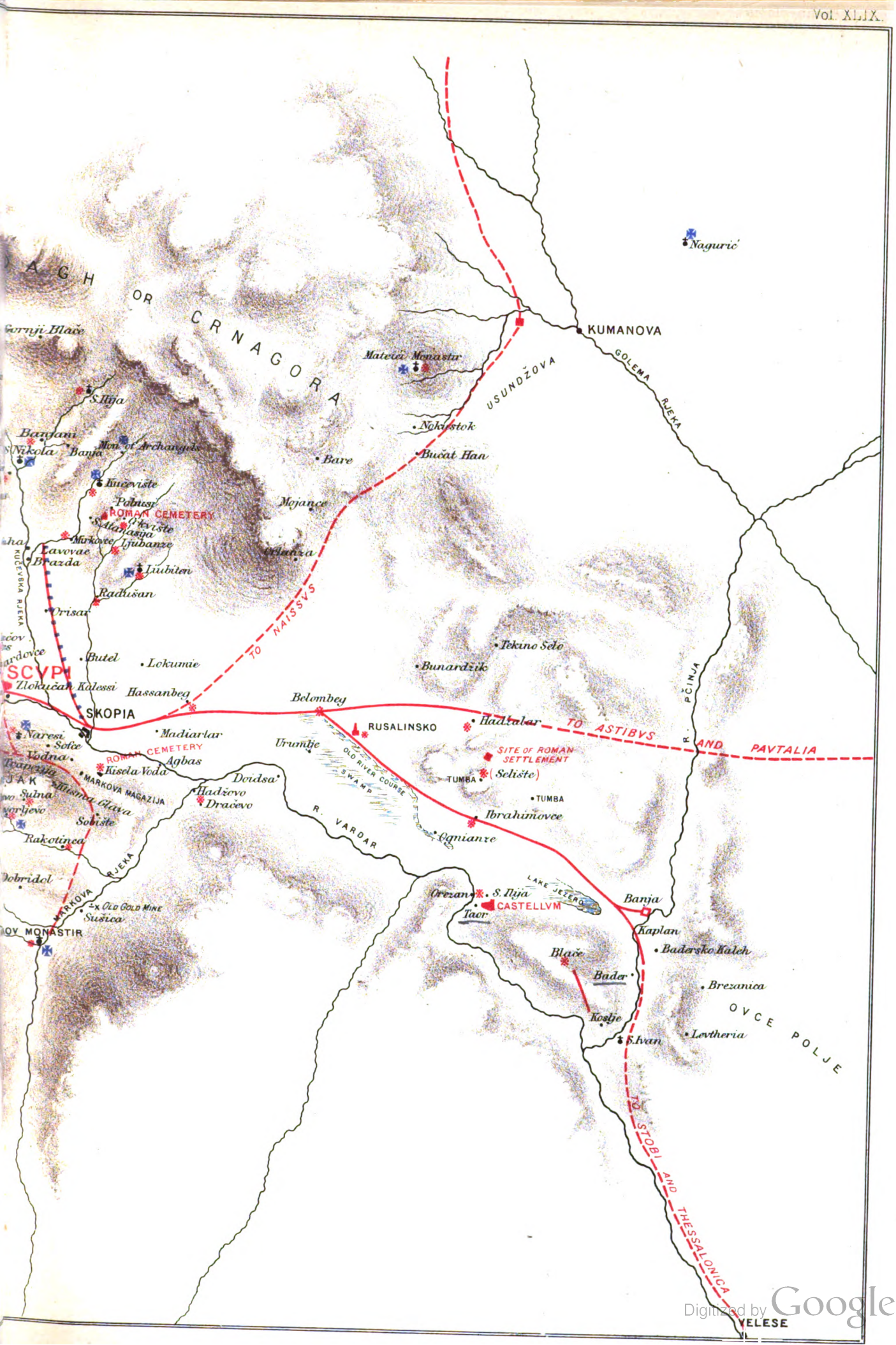
Arthur J. Evans

Scale of 0 1 2 *3 Miles*

Roman Roads,
Conjectural course of Roman Roads,
MUNICIPIA &c.
Roman remains,
Roman Milestones,
Course of Aqueduct,
Remarkable Medieval remains, Byzantine and Slavonic,
Roman Baths,

C.F. Kell, Lith. London, E.C.

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the Balkan lands in 1673,[a] and who gives as a reason for describing this place somewhat at length that earlier geographers had "passed it over in few words." "And I could never," he adds, "meet with any who had been at it." Brown identified Skopia with the Scupi of Ptolemy, and after recounting the beauties of the existing town proceeds to describe some of its antiquities. He mentions an arch "which seemeth to be ancient, and a rivulet running under it"; also, "a large stone which seemeth to be part of a pillar with the inscription SHIANC." "A little way out of the city," he continues, "there is a noble aqueduct of stone with about 200 arches, made from one hill to another over the lower ground or valley." The arch is gone, and the aqueduct hardly answers to Brown's dimensions, but the inscribed pillar, a part of a Roman milestone, to which I shall have occasion to refer,[b] is still a conspicuous object in the streets of Skopia.

From Dr. Edward Brown's time to a quite recent date, the antiquities of Skopia received no further illustration. Ami Boué, who visited this place, described a fragment of an inscription, referring to the Emperor Severus, walled into the aqueduct.[c] One or two inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Skopia have since been communicated to the *Révue Archéologique*, by M. Engelhardt, French Consul-General at Belgrade, on the authority of a Serbian Professor of the Belgrade Lyceum; only one of these however has any claim to be regarded as an accurate reproduction of the text.[d] Add to this, one inscription communicated by the Austrian Consul, Herr Lippich,[e] and two from a village near the confluence of the Pčinja and Vardar, with two fragments of milestones, and I believe I shall have exhausted the catalogue of the known epigraphic materials from Skopia and the whole region round it.

Of the scantiness indeed of the hitherto known materials no better proof could be given than the fact that Professor Tomaschek, of Gratz, has recently written a learned dissertation to prove that the site of the ancient Scupi was neither at Skopia nor in its vicinity, but that it ought rather to be sought somewhere in the

[a] *A brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, &c.* by Edward Brown, M.D. of the College of London, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty. London 1673.

[b] See p. 102. The SHIANÇ of Dr. Edward Brown is evidently derived from the TRAIANO of the stone.

[c] *Turquie d'Europe*, T. 2, p. 354.

[d] *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. ii. 498.

[e] Dr. Kenner *Inschriften aus der Vardarschlucht*, Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissen. schapten, 1875, p. 276.

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valley of the Bulgarian Morava.[a] The materials that I have at present collected will supply, I trust, the final solution of this problem in ancient geography, and will sufficiently establish the historic connexion between Skopia and the ancient Scupi. But it does not therefore follow that the sites of the present city and of its original Roman predecessor are absolutely identical. The fine position of the akropolis hill of Skopia, the noble stone bridge across the Vardar, the ancient walls and buildings, the general air of antiquity that pervades the place, had all indeed combined to induce earlier and later travellers to identify the actual site of Scupi with the Turkish Üsküp, and I must confess that I was at first inclined to do the same. It was not till after a prolonged exploration of the town and neighbourhood that I gradually acquired the proofs that the site of the original Roman Colony must be sought outside the limits of the modern city. There are, in fact, in Skopia itself no remains of classical antiquity that can fairly be regarded as *in situ*. The oldest of the buildings are at most Byzantine. The vast majority of the existing architectural monuments are Turkish, and the bridge itself, which has been described as Roman, dates no farther back than the great days of Turkish dominion, when, with the aid of Italian and Dalmatian architects, Ottoman Beglerbegs and Pashas were raising such engineering monuments in the Peninsula as had not been seen there since the days of Trajan and Diocletian.

Thanks to the friendly protection of the Mutessarif of Üsküp, Féik Pasha, I was able to devote two months in the course of last year to the systematic exploration of the plain of Üsküp, and the surrounding mountain ranges. The archæological results of this exploration have been not inconsiderable and relate to more than one epoch. The number of ancient churches and monasteries dating from early Serb, Bulgarian, and Byzantine times still preserved in the glens of the Karadagh and the southern offshoots of the Shar Planina is truly surprising, and hardly less so the fact that these interesting monuments should so long have been overlooked by European travellers. In mediæval frescoes representing Serbian and Byzantine princes the churches are peculiarly rich. At Liubiten is a ruined church containing full-length representations of the Emperor Stefan Dušan, his Empress, and his young son Uroš in their robes of state. At Markov Manastir, or Marko's Monastery, King Vukašin and his son, the hero of South Slavonic Epic, are both represented, and the epitaph of "King's Son Marko," may still be

[a] *Zur Kunde der Hämus Halbinsel.* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1881. H. 2, p. 437-499.) Prof. Tomaschek proposed to seek the site of Scupi near Leskovac in Serbia. Skopia he places in Pæonia.

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decyphered. In the ruinous Minster Church of Matejci I came upon a genealogical tree containing full-length fresco portraits of the imperial race of the Comneni, the counterpart of the Nemanid tree in the royal Serbian foundation of Dečani. At Naresi in the Karsjak range above Skopia, is another fine Byzantine Church containing a Comnenian inscription to which I shall return.

It is, however, with the Roman remains of earlier date that we are at present more immediately concerned. Of these remains the whole region that surrounds the site of the ancient Scupi turned out to be equally prolific, and I found that in not a few cases the mediæval Serb and Byzantine builders had profited by the relics of Roman civilization with which the neighbourhood of their later foundations abounded. In investigating the Roman monuments and inscriptions in this district I had often indeed to contend with the jealous and secretive spirit of the peasants, who, having been for centuries exploited by an alien and despotic government, are apt to regard inquiries concerning their ancient monuments as a prelude to further exactions or forced labour. There is, besides, a widespread belief that all ancient inscriptions are in some way connected with the concealment of treasure, and the peasants are naturally anxious to reserve for themselves whatever "unearned increment" is to be derived from such sources. In the wilder Albanian regions North of the Shar range the prevalence of such ideas is a source of real danger to the too inquisitive traveller. In the Skopia district, however, where the population is mainly Slavonic, the chief obstacle with which I had to contend was the reticence observed by the peasants regarding their ancient monuments. Thus, on more than one occasion I had to undertake rides of eight or nine hours' duration two or three times over, in order to visit villages where I knew that ancient inscriptions existed, before I was successful in discovering what I sought. That in the end I was able to collect so many was largely owing to the good humoured tact and inexhaustible local knowledge of my Zaptieh, Osman Ombashi, an Albanian by birth, who soon acquired a truly antiquarian zest in tracking out Roman monuments.

The spacious plain of Skopia and the Alpine slopes that overlook it on every side go to form a well-defined geographical district, which as the monuments to be described sufficiently declare, formed once the Ager of the Roman city. The remains from this whole district may therefore be fitly grouped with those existing on the actual site of the ancient Scupi, and those within its modern representative the present town of Skopia or Usküp. On the other hand, the Roman remains that I have discovered beyond the water-shed of Mount Karsjak, to the West of Skopia, and in the valley of the Markova Rjeka, may be better perhaps regarded

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separately as being possibly, though hardly probably, comprised in the territory of some other Dardanian Municipium.

The hill on which the Akropolis or "Grad" of Skopia lies is an offshoot of a low range, to the left of the Vardar, which juts out to the North into the middle of the plain. A little rivulet divides this range from a more isolated hill beyond, the Western slope of which overlooks the confluence of the Lepenac and Vardar. The point is important, as being the natural meeting point of two lines of road over the passes of the Shar. That to the West gives access to Kalkandelen and Prisren on one side, and the Dibra district of Albania on the other. The route to the North is that already described, which threads the pass of Kačanik and secures communication with the ancient Dardanian city of Ulpiana in a more remote degree with the Dalmatian littoral and the Save basin. From this hill, known as the hill of Zlokučani, both avenues could be watched with even greater facility than from Skopia itself. The site was therefore admirably adapted for a watch station and bulwark against the wild Illyrian regions to the North and West.

Immediately beneath this hill, at the confluence of the Lepenica and Vardar, lies the village of Zlokučani, where I had the satisfaction of first coming upon remains which fix beyond reasonable doubt the original site of the ancient Scupi. The abundance of Roman fragments about this village was truly astonishing. To the North of the modern road the foundations of a considerable public building, perhaps a temple, were clearly visible, including several of the bases of a double row of columns. A little to the East of this was a corner portion apparently of a city gate. In the immediate vicinity were to be seen broken shafts of columns, pedestals, a piece of a stone pavement, and innumerable other blocks, and the tiles and pottery that strewed the neighbouring fields bore still more unmistakeable witness to the existence of an ancient city. That so much of the Roman foundations should have been visible was due to some recent excavations of the surface soil conducted by an engineer in the Turkish service with the object of procuring building material for a new bridge over the Lepenica hard by. The number of inscriptions thus unearthed about this spot was, by all accounts, very considerable; they were however, without exception, walled up into the foundations of the bridge, and are probably lost for ever to archæology. More than this, the chief Turkish proprietor of the village, who has a fanatical detestation of inscriptions, had given orders to the peasants to throw all "written stones" such as they are continually finding in their fields, into the river, "all such being works of the Devil and the cursed Giaour." In the bed of the river several large Roman sarcophagi, uninscribed as far as I could observe, lay about pell mell, but they owed their present position to the gradual excavation of the river-bank by the stream.

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The smaller remains extended from the village to the hill above already described, which is locally known as the Zlokučan Kalesi. On the Western flank of this was a Bulgarian Cemetery, and here again were many fragments of Roman monuments, amongst them of some fluted columns. Above this the whole hill-side was covered with *débris* of Roman tiles and stone-work, while at one point there rose a fragment of an old wall of conglomerate masonry. Above this again a well defined ridge, concealing apparently the course of a wall of circumvallation and covered with stones and tiles, ran round the whole hill-top, while within it rose another similar stone and tile-covered bank. The summit of what was evidently the Akropolis of the original Skupi, perhaps representing the original Illyrian hill-stronghold, is of small area, but the position is most commanding, and, save for the fact that the Vardar actually washes the foot of the akropolis-hill of the later Skopia, is, from a military point of view, superior to the latter. This akropolis-hill is connected by a narrow neck with another portion of the same range, the upper surface of which is as thickly strewn with the remains of the Roman city as the more fortified part. While examining this I found a Roman sepulchral monument of perhaps third-century date, erected by her husband to a certain Claudia Ingenua (fig. 72), and near this lay a tile containing an interesting fragment of another inscription (fig. 88), dating from the Christian period of Roman Scupi.

A crossway leads through the fields—here everywhere strewn with tiles and pottery—from Zlokučani to the neighbouring village of Bardovce, before reaching which it passes a low hill which must have been an important quarter of the ancient Scupi. Along the side of this some recent excavations, made in order to obtain material for building purposes, had revealed a variety of ancient blocks, and amongst them some huge fragments of a cornice and a base evidently belonging to an important building. In the neighbourhood of this were two Roman tombs, which I excavated. The first proved to be a large cist, consisting of six ponderous slabs, and lined with square tiles in two parallel rows; it contained nothing but a few bones, and must have been rifled in ancient times. The second, equally unproductive so far as relics were concerned, was of the same general construction, but made up of the remains of earlier monuments, as was proved by the fact that it contained within it an inscribed slab with a dedication of a local priest of Augustus to the "Gods and Goddesses" (fig. 56). This part of the Roman site forms as useful a quarry to the present inhabitants as that near Zlokučani, and many monuments have been quite recently disinterred to be broken up or lost in modern buildings. Two sepulchral slabs, however, from the spot had been preserved in the neighbouring Konak of Hakif

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Méchmed Pasha at Bardovce, where I was permitted to see them in the inner court of this fine Turkish country house. Both of them apparently owed their preservation to the fact that they contained reliefs, in the one case of a husband, wife, and child (fig. 75), in the other of a *Miles Frumentarius* of the Seventh Legion (fig. 60).

The sources of Méchmed Pasha's fortune are interesting in the light which they throw on the local industry of the ancient inhabitants of Scupi. These I learnt to be an old iron mine near Kisela Voda, a chalybeate spring which rises on the Southern flank of the range dominating the right bank of the Lepenica, and, in the same neighbourhood, a quarry of excellent white marble. This marble is in high repute throughout the central part of the Balkan Peninsula, and is largely used for tombstones, both Mahometan and Christian. Quantities of it are exported to a considerable distance and as far away as Nish (the ancient Naissus), in Serbia, I saw marble monuments, the material of which had been ordered from the Pasha's quarries near the ancient site of Scupi. Once more we find the site of a Dardanian city connecting itself with ancient mines and quarries.

The virtues of the mineral spring of Kisela Voda[a] were probably not unknown to the Roman citizens of Scupi. The spring itself spurts up with fountain-like force in the centre of a ruinous octagonal basin. The hill to the East of it seems to have been formerly the scene of a similar fountain, as it was covered with iron-stained fragments and a white deposit in all respects resembling the deposit formed by the existing source. On the rocks at the top here were observable artificial grooves and channels, evidently belonging to an ancient bath, but broken up and tossed about in chaotic disorder by some vast natural convulsion. Lower down, near the village of Vučidol were traces of another mineral source,—a curious line of undermined rocks, the cavities of which were filled with the same chalybeate deposit. On examining their upper surface I found an *impluvium* of angular form and sockets for small columns cut out of the rock, showing that here, too, must have existed an ancient building.; but in this case, as the former, the natural floor of rock had been ploughed up by cataclsymic agencies. In the wooded glen above, a little below the village of Kučkova, had been recently found a small image, a sight of which I obtained with difficulty from the Bulgar peasants. It proved to be a rude Roman bas-relief of Hercules clad in the Nemean lion's-skin; and I have since heard that a "written stone" has been discovered, together with an ancient fountain, near the same village. Somewhat further, in a gorge opening on to Lepenica valley, is the Albanian village of

[a] Literally "Bitter Water," a common name for mineral sources throughout the South-Slavonic countries. The temperature was 75° Fahr.

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Nekistan, where, amongst the ruins of a mediæval church, lay a large fragment of a Roman tombstone (fig. 53) referring to the COLONIA of Scupi.

The traces of the ancient buildings near the mineral springs, destroyed by some great natural catastrophe, afford a highly interesting commentary on the passage of the sixth century Illyrian chronicler Comes Marcellinus, who records the overthrow of Scupi itself, and other cities of Dardania by a terrific earthquake in the year 518. The writer describes the catastrophe with the vividness of an eye-witness. "In the province of Dardania," he writes, "twenty-four *Castella* were ruined in a single moment by repeated shocks of earthquake. Two of these were overwhelmed, with all their habitations; four with half their buildings and inhabitants; eleven were overthrown with a loss of a third of their citizens and houses; seven more lost a quarter of their houses and population and were left deserted through fear of the neighbourhood of the ruins. Moreover, the Metropolitan City of Scupi was ruined to its foundations, though without any destruction of its citizens, for they were at the time in the act of fleeing from the enemy. In one castle, in the district of Canisa, called Sarnunto, there took place an eruption, and the earth vomited forth from its inner cavities a continual burning shower on every side, like the blast from a fiery furnace." Many mountains, we are told, throughout the province were rent asunder; rocks and forest trees were torn from their sockets; and a yawning chasm "twelve feet in breadth and thirty miles in extent" intercepted and entombed many of the fugitive citizens.[a] In the volcanic

[a] Comes Marcellinus (Ad. Ann. 518). "In Provincia Dardania assiduo terræmotu xxiv. Castella uno momento collapsa sunt. Quorum duo suis cum habitatoribus demersa, quatuor dimidia ædificiorum suorum hominumque amissa parte destructa, undecim tertia domorum totidemque populi clade dejecta, septem quarta tectorum suorum tantaque plebis parte depressa, vicina vero (al. "vicinarum") metu ruinarum despecta sunt. Scupus namque Metropolis, licet sine civium suorum hostem fugientium clade, funditus tamen corruit. Uno in Castello, regionis Canisæ, quod Sarnunto dicitur, ruptis tunc terra venis et ad instar torridæ fornacis exæstuans diutinum altrinsecus ferventemque imbrem evomuit. Plurimæ totius Provinciæ montes hoc terræmotu scissi sunt, saxa que suis evulsa compagibus, devolutaque arborum (? devolutæque arbores) crepido per xxx. passuum millia patens et in xii. pedum latitudinem dehiscens profundum aliquantis voraginem civibus castellorum saxorumque ruinas vel adhuc hostium incursiones fugientibus jussa * paravit." The last paragraph is evidently corrupt, but the general sense is clear. *Crepido* here = *fissura* (Cf. Du Cange, *s. v.*). With this Dardanian "Sarnunto" I will venture to connect the Sarnoates, referred to on the Illyrian coins reading ΣΑΡΝΟΑΤΩΝ, and the Σαρνοῦς of Stephanus of Byzantium and Polyænus. I will even go further and suggest the emendation of the unknown (Βαρνοῦς) "Βαρνοῦντα" of Strabo (7, 7, 4), mentioned as lying on or near the Egnatian Way between Lychnidus (Ochrida) and Heraclea Lyncestis, into Σαρνοῦντα, and its identification in turn with the Σαρνοῦς of the coins, and the "Sarnunto" of Marcellinus. This attribution would bring down a corner of sixth century Dardania to the neighbourhood of Monastir, but it is not at least inconsistent with Procopius' description of

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rocks that strew the neighbourhood of the Roman thermal station of Banjska, above Mitrovica, we may see, perhaps, another landmark of the same catastrophe.

Outside the actual site of ancient Scupi and its immediate vicinity the most abundant traces of Roman settlement are to be found on the slopes and amongst the shady glens of the Dardanian Tzernagora, or Karadagh, to the North of the plain of Üsküp. Fertile, well-watered, and cool in summer, this upland region seems to have been a favourite *villeggiatura* of the citizens of Scupi, and, as numerous mediæval churches and monasteries attest, the Orthodox of a later period found its sites not less adapted for their monastic retreats. Several small tributaries of the Lepenica and Vardar here take their rise, and from one of these sources the town of Skopia has from time immemorial derived its water supply by an Aqueduct of Byzantine construction, to which we shall have occasion to return. It is noteworthy, that in this district vine culture is carried to greater perfection than elsewhere among the South Dardanian peasantry, and the wine of Kučevište, especially, enjoys a deserved reputation in Skopia. This village, lying on a neck of land between two streams, has a fine Serbo-Byzantine church, founded, according to local tradition, by one of the Nemanjas, where, behind the door of the Proavlion, I found the most interesting existing record of the municipal government of Roman Scupi (fig. 54, see p. 114). In the churchyard, amongst the other slabs lay a Roman sepulchral monument (fig. 51) to a Veteran of the 7th Legion, remarkable for the artistic finish of its execution. This monument had been removed, not many years since, to its present position from a field about half an hour's walk below the village, which was by all accounts a Roman cemetery. I learned that the whole ground, at a depth of two or three feet below the present surface, was occupied by ancient graves, and that many slabs had at different times come to light presenting inscriptions. On visiting the spot I found it, unfortunately, covered with growing vines, and was thus prevented from making excavations; I saw, however, a place from which large blocks had been recently taken, to be used in the restoration of the neighbouring church of St. Athanasius. At a farm-house at the village of Mirkovce, a little lower down, were two large fragments of another Legionary tomb (fig. 61), and a portion of a third inscrip-

the "European Dardanians" as living above Dyrrhachium. The town and region of Monastir itself (at or near the site of the ancient Heraclea Lyncestis) was known in Byzantine times as *Pelagonia*, and we have here, I venture to think, a clue to the whereabouts of the PELAGIA of a series of Illyrian coins that in all respects are companion pieces to those reading ΣΑΡΝΟΑΤΩΝ. On the other hand, the superior workmanship and Zacynthian affinities of the kindred Damastian coins would lead us to seek for the site of Damastion nearer the Epirote littoral. See p. 38.

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tion, besides a part of a monument displaying a cross, and perhaps of Byzantine date. In the neighbouring village of Brazda I observed another Roman sepulchral slab (fig. 52), also belonging to a Veteran of the 7th Legion, built into a fountain. This, however, according to an old inhabitant of the place, had been removed from a spot called Dančov Bres on the plain below, and not far distant from Bardovce. The transfer from that place was no doubt facilitated by a curiously straight piece of road across the plain, which had all the appearance of having been of Roman origin. At Dančov Bres itself I could only find fragments of stone in a clump of brushwood; but several monuments have been, at different times, unearthed there.

In a leafy gorge above Kučevište is the Monastery of the Archangels, with a fine old Serbian church, said to have been built by the Emperor Dušan. Crossing the watershed to the West, and passing a source with the time-honoured name of Banja, to which attention has been already called, the traveller reaches the rich valley of the Banjanska Rjeka, and the Minster Church of St. Nikita, another well-preserved old Serbian monument, rising on a vine-clad height above the village of Banjani. Near this, again, is a ruined church of the Theotokos, or Bogorodica, where was another fine Legionary slab (fig. 62); and in the threshold and before the door of a small church[a] hard by, two smaller Roman sepulchral monuments (figs. 78, 85). Further up the same gorge, in the very heart of the Karadagh, is the orthodox Monastery of St. Ilija. The church here is very small, but is built into a cavern, which points, perhaps, to a local cult of greater than Christian antiquity. In all likelihood, here, as in the case of St. Ilija above Plevlje, the mantle of the Thunder-God Perun has fallen on to the shoulders of the Slavonic St. Elias. Nor, considering the continuity of religious tradition in these remote regions, to which I shall again have occasion to return, is it by any means improbable that this sacred cave of the Karadagh may have been devoted to a Thunderer of still earlier date. In the court-yard of the Monastery below I observed a Roman altar; but, unfortunately, the inscription, if it ever had any, was hopelessly defaced.

A mountain-path leads from the gorge of Banjani past the village of Čucera, where, in the bone-house of the church, I saw another Roman sepulchral inscription (fig. 76), and thence over the watershed into the valley of the Lepenica at the Southern end of the Kačanik Pass. At this point a peninsular peak overhangs the left bank of the stream. On the *col* connecting this promontory with the main range

[a] *Gornjanska Crkva.*

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of the Karadagh, and reaching thence to the summit of the peak, were very extensive remains. The ruins were of the most thorough-going kind. Nothing beyond the foundation of walls, and heaps of stones and tiles, is at present to be seen, but these cover a considerable area, including the whole hill-top, as well as the connecting neck of land. They show that a peak stronghold and surrounding walled town must in former times have existed here. There is at present no human habitation in the immediate neighbourhood, but the inhabitants of Banjani call the place "Davina," and have a tradition that it belonged to a lady of that name, who was slain by the Turks when they conquered the country. They also call it Stari Bazar, or the "Old Market," and the remains of the peak castle are known, like so many other Old Slavonic "grads" hereabouts, as Markova Kula, the "tower," that is, of King's Son Marko. Amongst the remains I discovered a few fragments of Roman sarcophagi, and an ornament of apparently Serbo-Byzantine style, from which, as well as from the local tradition, we may conclude that the ruins are those of a mediæval Serbian town and stronghold, which formerly guarded the Southern end of the pass, as Kačanik the Northern. The chief object of my search was a Roman stone, of the existence of which near these ruins I had been assured by more than one peasant. After more than one fruitless visit to the spot, I was at last successful in finding it in pieces amongst the brushwood on the southern steep of the hill. It proved to be a monument erected by the local Republic to the Emperor Gallienus, the most interesting historic relic of Roman Scupi (fig. 55).

Eastwards of Kučevište, a path leads over another mountain spur to the village of Ljubanze, inhabited by a Bulgar population. On the way here I found a "Crkvište" or ruined site of a church, on which were one or two Roman fragments. A little to the West of the village was another similar ruin to a great extent composed of Roman blocks and monuments. Amongst these, firmly bedded for the most part in the walls and foundations were shafts, capitals, and bases of columns, an altar, part of which however had been defaced, and five slabs containing inscriptions, four of them sepulchral (figs. 69, 70, 84, 87), but one containing a dedication to an apparently local God (fig. 58). A little lower down the stream on which Ljubanze lies is the village of Radusan, where a large sepulchral slab had been recently found by an Albanian whilst working in his garden; it was divided into two compartments, but on one alone was the inscription legible (fig. 77). Above this village again, on a peninsular height, commanding far and wide the plain of Skopia, is the noble church of Ljubiten, roofless, alas! and doomed to inevitable decay, but still preserving when I saw it some of the most remarkable illustrations of the most remarkable period of old

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Serbian history. No traveller has described, and, as far as I am aware, no traveller has hitherto visited this highly interesting shrine, which has long since fallen into the alien and infidel hands of Albanian Mahometans; and, although the present communication relates rather to the remains of an earlier period, a cursory description may not be out of place. The ground plan of the body of the church is square, terminating externally in a five-sided apse. The cupola, at present in a ruinous state, was supported by four massive columns. Of the capitals one has disappeared entirely, two, perhaps of later date, are merely painted with a chevron ornament, the fourth has its four corners carved into the shape of a scallop, an eagle, a foliated coil, and a ram's head, and it may be remarked that all these ornaments recur in the capitals of the Comnenian Minster church at Matejći, on the other side of the Karadagh. The walls are of stone alternating with tiles, and over the Western doorway is a Serbian inscription in Cyrillian characters recording the erection of the church to the honour of St. Nicholas in the year 1337, and under the rule of King Stephen Dušan. But the chief glory of the church are the frescoes within, which were evidently completed after the date when the Serbian monarch assumed the insignia of Empire. On the North wall of the church Czar Dušan himself is to be seen depicted with the Imperial crown upon his head, and the Imperial mantle on his shoulders, holding a three-limbed cross. At his side, crowned like himself, stand his Empress Helena and his young son Uroš, while on either side of the chief entrance rise the Emperor's angelic and saintly protectors; on the right the "Archistratêgi" Michael and Gabriel, and on the left Saints Cosmas and Damian. Both the Czar and his Consort appear as they are represented on their contemporary coinage. No record of this crowning achievement of Dušan's ambition could be better placed than in this church, overlooking afar the domes and towers of his residential City of Skopia, where he first assumed the crown and title of Emperor of the Greeks and Serbs, and of "all Romania." A less questionable monument of *Roman* rule is to be seen at the East end of the church, where lay a sepulchral slab with a finely wrought cornice, but the inscription on which was wholly obliterated. It appeared to have formed part of the altar.

The remains hitherto described lie amongst the Southern and Western offshoots of the Dardanian Karadagh, which bounds the plain of Skopia to the North-East. To the West of the site of Scupi, and on the further side of the the Vardar, rises the elongated limestone-mass of Karšjak, which is detached from the outlying ranges of the Shar to the North by the stupendous cleft of the Treška. Mount Karšjak itself forms the watershed between the Skopia expanse and the basin of the Markova Rjeka, the Roman remains of which I shall treat separately as

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possibly to be referred to another Municipium. The monuments however of Roman date existing on the Eastern slopes of Karšjak come fairly within the antiquarian domains of Scupi itself, and the same may be said of the rugged promontory of the Shar that separates the confluent waters of the Treška and Vardar.

At a village at the south-eastern foot of Karšjak, which, like the old bath already described, is called Kiselavoda from a slightly bitter spring there, had apparently been a Roman cemetery; I saw one large uninscribed sarcophagus *in situ*, and, according to the Bulgar inhabitants, many others had been dug up at the same spot. Hearing of an inscription graven on a rock on the very summit of the mountain, I started from Skopia with local guides, to investigate it. On a headland, about an hour above Skopia, I observed the ruins of an ancient castle, terminating in a polygonal tower, and with chambers excavated in the ground, from which it derives its name, *Markova Magazija*—"Marko's storehouse." It certainly dates from old Serbian time. About an hour from the summit I came upon an ancient road, which follows with much evenness the eastern contour of the mountain; according to the local account it leads in one direction to Prilip and Ochrida, and in the other over the Shar to Prisren. That it was useful in the days of the old Serbian dominion as a means of communication with the numerous monasteries scattered about this Alpine region there can be no doubt; it is always possible however that, in part at least, it represents a Roman line of communication between Scupi and Heraclea or Lychnidus. It seems to me not improbable that this road answers to that described by the Arabian geographer, Edrisi,[a] as leading from Skopia,[b] through a place called Bolghoura, or Bolghar, to Ochrida, and thence through "Teberle" (? Debra) to Durazzo.[c] Near the gorge of the Treška I observed on another occasion a branch or continuation of this running Westward along the Northernmost terrace of Karšjak, which, from its linear directness, appeared to me to be of Roman origin. An hour above this ancient road we reached the summit of the mountain, only to find that the inscription had been recently destroyed by some fanatic. The panorama, however, was magnificent; to East and North Skopia, its plain and intersecting rivers; to South and West

[a] *Géographie d'Edrisi*, traduite d'Arabe en Français par P. Amédée Jaubert, t. ii. p. 289, 290.

[b] Edrisi describes Skopia itself as "a considerable town surrounded by many vineyards and cultivated fields." From Skopia onwards he mentions a route to Kratova (Kortos), where two lines of communication branched, one to Nish, the other to Seres, Drama, and Christopolis.

[c] There is an apparent discrepancy in Edrisi's account. On p. 289 "Bolghoura" is mentioned as "a pretty town on the top of a high mountain," four days from Scopia: on p. 290 "Boulghar" is mentioned as one day distant from Skopia.

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the broad undulating glen drained by the Markova Rjeka and its tributaries; while the snowy line of the Shardagh fringed the North-Western horizon.

From the rocky knoll that forms the highest summit of Karšjak we descended to the North-East through woods of Spanish chestnut (locally known as *Kustanje*—a near approach to *Castanea*) to some remarkable ruins. The first we visited was known as Timpanica, and proved to be the remains of a very substantial stone building; the walls were strongly cemented of roughly-shaped stones, and may have belonged to a Roman *Castellum*, but their ground-plan could no longer be restored with any certainty. About a quarter of an hour below this was a much more extensive ruin. On one side a wall, about six feet broad, of uncemented blocks of the local micaceous rock descended along the side of a ravine; and, about one hundred yards below, took a turn at right-angles and ran along the face of the slope till it ended in what had been, apparently, a tower. Beyond this point the traces were obscure. The massiveness of the wall points to early times for its construction; but the rudeness of the blocks and the absence of mortar forbids us to regard it as Roman; It is not impossible that here, on the North-Western declivity of Mount Karšjak we have the remains of an early Dardanian stronghold that existed before the Roman Conquest. The natives call it Sofce, or Sofia; there was, however, no trace of a church, nor of any work which could be referred to mediæval times.

To the North of this, perched on a peninsular spur of the same mountain, and shaded by magnificent walnut-woods, is the village of Neresi, or Naresi, tenanted by an Albanian population. An ice-cool fountain here bursts from the rock, and it is difficult not to connect the name of the village with the primitive word for water lurking in Nereus, and revived in the modern Greek *νερό*, and to recall the Illyrian clan of the Naresii, who, in Pliny's time, inhabited the upper valley of the Narenta, still known as the Neretva.[a] On the opposite side of the ravine rises a

[a] It is remarkable that in 409 A.D. we find Pope Innocent addressing a letter "*Martiano Episcopo Naresitano*" in which he refers to the "*Clerici Naresienses*" as having been nominated by the heretic bishop Bonosus (of Serdica). Farlato, *Illyricum Sacrum*, remarks on this, "Naresitanam ecclesiam nuspiam invenies in ecclesiastica geographia," and would read "Naissitanam": but the parallel form "*Naresienses*" and the high improbability of such a corruption of a well-known name like that of Naissus militate against the suggestion. Here at least we have an "*Ecclesia Naresitana* or *Naresiensis* of Byzantine date and within a territorial sphere over which a heretic bishop of the Metropolis of Dacia Mediterranea may have usurped authority. Dardania, it must be remembered, was at this time one of the "Five Dacias"; and, though the Metropolitan of Scupi seems to have claimed precedence over the Metropolitan of Serdica (see p. 138), Bonosus may have succeeded for a while in turning the tables.

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Byzantine church, which proved to be of considerable interest. It forms part of a small Bulgar monastery, but I noticed that it differed from the prevailing Old Serbian type of this district in having four turrets at its angles, over and above the central cupola. Inside were some curious early Byzantine fragments, notably a flat marble plaque, on which birds and animals were carved in coilwork medallions, of a style which carried one back to the noble tenth-century foundation of the Emperor Romanos, at Styri, in Greece. The *proavlion* had been destroyed and rebuilt at a later period, but over the door leading from this into the body of the church was a long slab with the following Byzantine inscription, recording the erection and embellishment of the Church "of the great and glorious Martyr Panteleêmôn," by an "Alexios Comnênos, son of the imperial-born Theodora, in the year 1165, in the 3rd Indiction, Joannikios being Hegûmen":

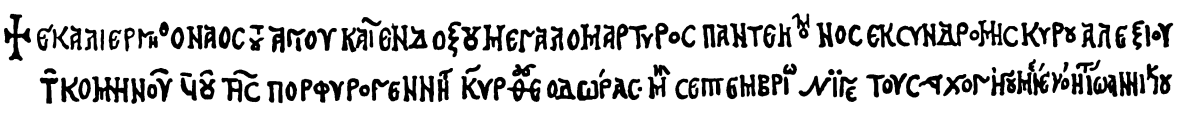


Fig. 42.

† ЄΚΑΛΙЄΡΓΗΘΗ Ο ΝΑΟС ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ЄΝΔΟΞΟΥ
ΜЄΓΑΛΟΜΑΡΤΥΡΟС ΠΑΝΤЄΛΗΜΟΝΟС ЄΚ СΥΝΔΡΟΜΗС
ΚΥΡΟΥ (*sic*) ΑΛЄΞΙΟΥ | Τ(ΟΥ) ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΤΗС ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓЄΝΝΗΤ(ΙΚΗС)
ΚΥΡΑС (*sic*) ΘЄΟΔΩΡΑС ΜΗΝ(Ι) СЄΠΤЄΜΒΡΙΩ ΙΝ(ΔΙΚΤΙΩΝΟС) Γ
ЄΤΟΥС ϛΧΟΓ ΗΓΟΥΜЄΝЄΥΟΝΤΟС ΙΩΑΝΝΙΚΙΟΥ.

Theodora Comnena *Porphyrogenita* was the youngest daughter of the Emperor Alexios Comnenos (†1118), and married Constantine Angelos, a noble of Philadelphia, by whom she became the mother of the imperial race of Angelos.[a] Her son Alexios, the founder, or possibly restorer, of this church, is not mentioned by Ducange in his *Familiæ Byzantinæ*, but one of her sons, who appears in history as Constantine, distinguished himself in Manuel's campaigns against the Serbians, and after the re-capture of Ras,[b] about the year 1150, was left in command of the Byzantine troops in Dalmatia.[c] The present inscription affords new evidence of the important position held at this time by the house of Angelos and Theodora in this part of the peninsula.

[a] Ducange *Familiæ Augustæ Byzantinæ*, p. 178, and 202. (Paris, 1680).
[b] Near Novipazar. (See p. 54.)
[c] *Kinnamos Hist.* Lib. III.

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The wall paintings round the church differed slightly in style from the usual old Serbian frescoes of this part, and the scrolls in the Saints' hands were, so far as I observed, in Greek instead of Cyrillian characters. On the massive square pier to the right of the ikonostasis (one of the four supporting the cupola) was a well-executed fresco of St. Panteleêmôn. The painting was canopied by a remarkable baldacchino, suggestive of Italian parallels, and forming a trefoil arch over which peacocks linked in Byzantine knotwork were carved within a palmetto border. In the porch was a large Roman gravestone (fig. 63), interesting as giving a Thracian name and its Latin alternative.

From Naresi I descended to the level of the Vardar and made my way along a road which follows first its right bank and then the right bank of the Treška to the village of Sisova, which lies at the Eastern opening of the Treška ravine. Walled into the little church here were several Roman fragments, including two Ionic capitals. My exploration of the iron-gates of the Treška above may be passed over here[a] as the interest attaching to the churches of St. Nikola and St. Andrea that lie in that almost inaccessible region belongs to the days of the Old Serbian kings; nor did I anywhere notice Roman monuments. The trace of an ancient road running along the terrace of Mount Karšjak, that breasts this Treška ravine has been already noticed; it is probable that the mediæval road which, according to tradition, eventually brought this mountain district into connexion with the Czarigrad, Prisren, crossed the Treška near the village of Sisova, as there are still traces of an ancient bridge. Here, on the left bank of the stream, which at present has to be forded, rises the Monastery of Matkovo, with a fine Serbo-Byzantine church. Walled into the church was a Roman sepulchral slab (fig. 71), a Byzantine relief of birds in interlaced medallions, a column, and many other ancient fragments; and from a spot a little below the monastery I was brought a portion of another Roman monument reading—

FLA . V . . .
AP . . . . . .

The old road-line that skirts the heights above, to the left of the river, would have afforded a means of access from the basin in which Scupi anciently stood to

[a] It is well, however, to mention that the upper course of the Treška as depicted on the Austrian Stabs-karte is entirely erroneous. No tributary runs into it near St. Nikola, and the river itself takes a long straight turn to the West above that monastery, instead of running, as represented, from the North. On my sketch-map I have corrected the geography of this district so far as my explorations enabled me.

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the undulating glens of the Markova Rjeka, separated from the Skopia plain by the intervening mass of Mount Karšjak, the antiquities of which, as possibly belonging to the Ager of another Roman Municipium, it may be well to present in a collective form. This region is of the greatest fertility, and is covered with cherry orchards, the fruit of which is the finest in the country; but a still more important feature, as explaining the presence of Roman settlements, is an old gold mine on the right bank of the Markova Rjeka, a little below the village of Sušica, which, according to my local informant, was still worked by the Turks only a dozen years back. A little above Sušica is the interesting Monastery, Markov Manastir, where the tomb of the legendary hero of Serbian Epic is still to be seen,



Fig. 43.

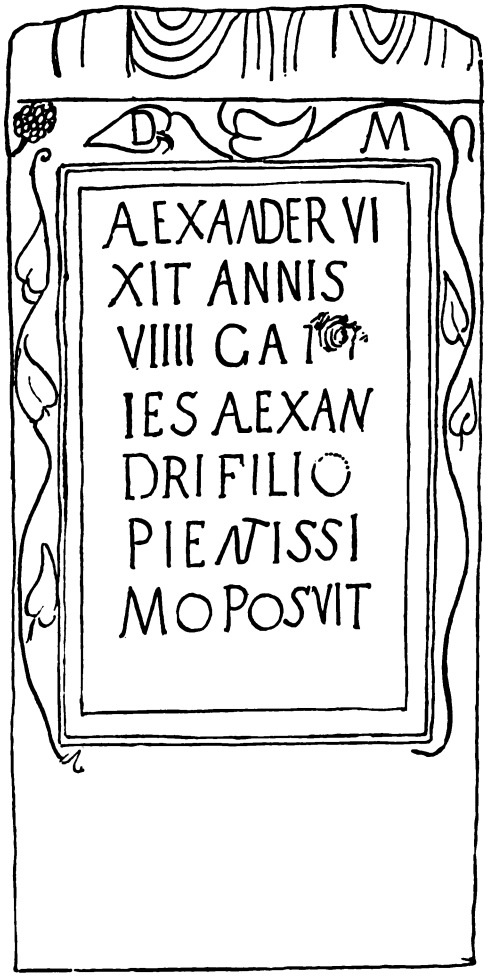


Fig. 44.

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together with other old Slavonic frescoes and inscriptions of great importance for the mediæval history of these countries. Here I observed, walled into the church, a monument to a Veteran of the Seventh, Claudian, Legion[a] (fig. 43). On the Western slope of Mount Karšjak, in the village of Dolnji Sulna, the fountain was adorned with a sepulchral slab containing the Illyrian name-form "Gatties," the son of Alexander (fig. 44).

ALEXANDER VIXIT ANNIS VIIII GATTIES ALEXANDRI FILIO PIENTISSIMO POSVIT.

In the upper church of the same village were two *akroteria* of Roman tombs, a portion of a cornice or pedestal, and other fragments. Near this, at Govarljevo, were several more ancient fragments, including an altar with a defaced inscription,



Fig. 45.



Fig. 46.

[a] Incompletely given by Engelhardt, *loc. cit.*

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and at Barova opposite, were three Roman inscriptions. Two of these of sepulchral character (figs. 45 and 46) were walled into the precincts of the church. One of them (fig. 46), apparently referred to a VETeranus LEGionis VII. Claudiæ Piæ Felicis, who was also DECurio of a Colony,[a] in all probability of Scupi. The third inscription in a neighbouring cottage wall, though in an imperfect condition, is of considerable interest. It is part of an altar to Fortuna, apparently erected by a local *Res Publica*, but whether the name on the penultimate line refers to the city, or is an indigenous epitaph of Fortuna, it is not easy to determine—



Fig. 47.

FORTVN*AE*
SACRV*M*
BETVAN . . . ?
RES P*ublica* F*aciendum* C*uravit.*

In this valley and on the heights of Mount Karšjak above, as in other places in the Skopia district were patches of the wild pear-tree—the Albanian *Darda*—with which Von Hahn connects the ancient name of Dardania.[b]

[a] It must be observed, however, that the stone appears to read DFC . C and not DEC . C.

[b] In the accusative form *Darde-ne*. Von Hahn *Albanesische Studien*, p. 236, compares the ancient derivation of the kindred Mysian race from a tree called in their language Μυσός = the Old Greek Ὀξύη, and instances Hesiod's account of Zeus creating the third or brazen race of men from ash trees (ἐκ μελιᾶν).

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Having briefly surveyed the Roman remains of the Markova Rjeka and the ranges that skirt the Vardar basin on either side of the site of Scupi, I may turn to those existing in the modern town of Skopia and its immediate neighbourhood. It will be convenient to confine our present attention to the earlier relics to be seen in Skopia, and to defer the description of those of Byzantine dates till we come to treat of the later foundation of Justinian. It is noteworthy that none of the Roman monuments in the town itself have any claim to be considered *in situ*. The fine stone bridge which here spans the Vardar has, as already observed, no title to be considered Roman, and belongs to the category described in the preceding paper, of great bridges built by Italian and Dalmatian architects for Turkish governors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which the old bridges over the Drina at Gorazda and Višegrad are conspicuous examples. Neither in the bridge itself, nor in the walls of the Akropolis that rises above it on the left bank of the Vardar, is there any trace of Roman construction. In the outer wall of the Akropolis there are however one or two fragments of inscriptions (figs. 81 and 82) that have been walled in at a later period. According to Hahn another existed near the entrance gate, but at present all traces of it have disappeared. In the lower town the Roman remains are mostly scattered about the Easternmost quarter, and in the old Hamam "of the Two Sisters" I saw several slabs presenting more or less fragmentary inscriptions (figs. 73, 74, 79). In the pavement of a neighbouring street was a large part of another containing the concluding lines of an elegiac epitaph to a local Nestor (fig. 68). In the wall of a ruined Mosque was also a sepulchral tablet (fig. 80), and the troughs of the drinking fountains in this part of Skopia are to a great extent made of Roman sarcophagi. A little below the Musta Pasha Dzamia I observed an altar to Silvanus, while another altar with a Greek inscription and apparently dedicated to Zeus had recently been found by a Turkish Sheik in his garden in the Balaban Mahala, where he courteously invited me to inspect it (fig. 57).

A point to be noted about the distribution of the Roman remains in Skopia itself is, that they approximately indicate the course of what was undoubtedly, in Roman times, the main line of communication between Scupi and the Macedonian towns to the South. The present direct route to Velese and the Lower Vardar runs nearer that river, but the older way takes an Eastward turn, along a low line of hills, in order to avoid the swamps of this part of the Vardar level. This older way, as the remains along it show, represents the course of the Roman road. At Skopia itself are two fragments of Roman milestones. No. 1 is embedded in a narrow lane near the clock-tower; No. 2, which is in a still more mutilated

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condition, supports a wooden column of the verandah in front of a Turkish house, near the Orthodox school.

1

IM . CAESARI . . .
DIVI TRAIANI PARH . F .
DIVI NERVAE NEPOTI
TRAIANO HADRIANO
AVG . P . M . TRIB . POTEST .
. . . O P . . . . . .

2

. . . *pontifici* MAXIMO . . . .
Tribunicia POTESTATE . .
. . . . . COS III . . . .

The first of these milestones belongs to Hadrian's time.[a]

The remains in the Southern part of the plain of Skopia, to the left of the Vardar, may be all conveniently considered in their relation to the Roman Way the course of which is marked by their occurrence. About a mile out of Skopia, to the South-East, the old road, which I venture to identify with the Roman Way, passes near a melon garden, in which I saw a Roman sepulchral inscription (fig. 83). To the East again of this lies the village of Hassanbeg, where, in making the new road to Kumanovo, the workmen had recently come upon a large "written stone." The stone proved to be a heavy block, submerged in a deep trench by mud and water from recent heavy rains. It was only, after an hour's struggle, and with the aid of eight peasants, that the stone was raised to such a position that, standing up to my waist in liquid mud and water, I was able to copy it. It proved to be of great interest, as referring to an Augustal "of the Colony of Scupi" (fig. 50).

To the South-East of this is the village of Belombeg, with a Mahometan and mediæval cemetery, where, according to the local tradition of the Bulgar peasants, had once been a Monastery dedicated to St. Peter. By the cistern here was the lid of a huge Roman sarcophagus, overturned and used as a trough for cattle, on the underside of which was a sepulchral inscription in well-cut letters (fig. 86).[b]

[a] It was undoubtedly from this stone that Edward Brown derived his inscription SHIANC. See p. 83. No. 1 has been given by Dr. Kenner in a but slightly variant form on Herr Lippich's authority. See *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.* v. 80, p. 274; *Eph. Ep.* vol. iv. p. 82.

[b] This block was so heavy that it took six men to lever it sufficiently for me to read the inscription. The Hassanbeg stone has since been removed to the Konak at Skopia.

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Beyond Belombeg the road, which is here a broad grassy track, forks into two branches,—each in all probability representing a Roman road-line,—that to the left leading to Istib, the ancient Astabus, that to the right being the main line of communication with Stobi and Thessalonica. Following the latter—still a grassy track—for about twenty minutes in the direction of the village of Ibrahimovce, I came upon the most satisfactory evidence of its Roman origin. On a grassy slope above the road lay the massive base of a Roman milestone, but the upper part of the column, containing the inscription, had unfortunately been broken off. Near this lay a large Roman slab with a cornice, and several other ancient blocks. There is at present no human habitation in the immediate neighbourhood of these remains, but I found that the spot was known to the peasants as "Rusalinsko," a name which seems to me to be of the highest interest. The Roman *Rosalia*, the spring-feast of the departed, as opposed to the *Brumalia*, or winter-feast, answering, as it did, to a widespread vernal celebration, not by any means confined to Aryan peoples, took a firm hold on the provincials, notably in the old Thracian part of the Empire, where in the gardens of Midas bloomed, it was said, the hundred-petalled rose. The practice of strewing the graves with flowers, though at first stoutly opposed by the Christian Church, had finally to be accepted by them, and in the Eastern Empire at least the pagan spring-feast of the Manes appears to have long retained its ancient name. Whether Slavonic tribes early acquired the name from actual contact with the Empire in Dacia, or whether they absorbed it, in the process of assimilating East Roman populations after their occupation of the Peninsula, it is certain that the Roman name for the feast—and that, originally, at least, in no derived Christian sense—has spread, not only to the Illyrian Slavs, but beyond the limits of the Roman Empire to the Russians, and even the Lithuanians.[a] The Russian Nestor (sub anno 1087) mentions the Rusalije amongst unholy merrymakings; and "Rusalka," a derivative of this, has come to mean a Russian fairy. In the twelfth century, the Byzantine, Theodore Balsamon, in his Commentary on the 62nd Canon of the sixth Council of Trullo, which took

[a] Some interesting remarks on the Slavonic *Rusalje*, *Rusalije*, &c., and their connexion with the Roman *Rusalia* will be found in Miklosich, *Die Rusalien* (*Sitzungsberichte der k. Akad. d. Wissensch* vol. xlvi. p. 386 *seqq.*), and W. Tomaschek, *Über Brumalia und Rosalia* (*Sitzungsberichte, &c.* vol. v. p. 351 *seqq.*). For the Roman *Rosalia*, see especially F. M. Avellino, *Oposcoli* (t. iii. p. 247 *seqq.*). Amongst the Lithuanians there is a June feast called *Rasos Švente*, which Miklosich shows to be the same celebration and derived from *Rosas*. Several inscriptions recording the celebration of the Rosalia on old Thracian soil have been discovered by Heuzey (*Le Panthéon des rochers de Philippes*, in *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 152 *seqq.*). The Roman *Rosalia*, at least in later times, seem to have been specially associated with the cult of Flora (Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, lib. v.)

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place in the seventh century, explains the ungodly assemblies there condemned as the "Rusalia," still celebrated, he tells us, in out-of-the-way districts. Amongst the Bulgars, who to a not inconsiderable extent represent a Slavonized Rouman population, this name for the old Parentalia, the spring-feast of departed spirits, has transferred itself to the Christian feast of the Holy Spirit, without, however, losing some of its heathen associations. The Bulgarian writer Zachariev mentions a spot near some ancient ruins, in the Tatar Bazardžik district, whither at the time of the "Rusalje" the sick are brought to be cured by laying them on a bed of rose-like flowers, sacred to the Elves, or "*Samodivas*."[a] It is probable enough that this or similar practices have attached the name to the ruin-field of "Rusalinsko." As to the actual practice of crowning tombs with roses and other flowers at the season of the Rusalje, it prevails throughout all this region, and in village after village I found the gravestones decorated with bunches of sweet-smelling herbs and flowers, amongst which roses were conspicuous.

Beyond "Rusalinsko," approaching the village of Ibrahimovce, the terrace of the Roman road was clearly traceable, running along a low slope which overlooks an old bed of the Vardar, filled in places with dead water. This ancient bed of the river, and the swamps in which its course is ultimately lost, amply account for the easterly curve taken by the old Thessalonican highway at this point. The modern road runs straight from Ibrahimovce to Usküp, but in rainy seasons it is often impassable, and travellers have to make their way by the older track. Ibrahimovce itself is a small Bulgarian village, but it contains a monument of antiquity, interesting in itself, and of greater interest in its connexion with a local cult which has at least all the superficial appearance of being a direct inheritance from Roman times. Lying on its back on the village green was a large block, which proved on examination to be a Roman altar, erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, by an Ædile of a Colonia, of which we learn no more than that its name began with co . . . , who was also Duumvir of the Colony of Scupi.

To my astonishment, I learnt that this monument of Roman municipal piety towards the "cloud-compeller" is still the object of an extraordinary local cult. I was informed by one of the inhabitants that in time of drought the whole of the villagers, both Christian and Mahometan, with a local Bey at their head, go together to the stone, and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine over the top, praying the while for rain. The language of the villagers is at present a Slavonic dialect, and the name of Jove was as unknown

[a] See Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 56.

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to them as the inscription on the stone was unintelligible. Nevertheless, it was difficult not to believe that in this remote Illyrian nook some local tradition of the

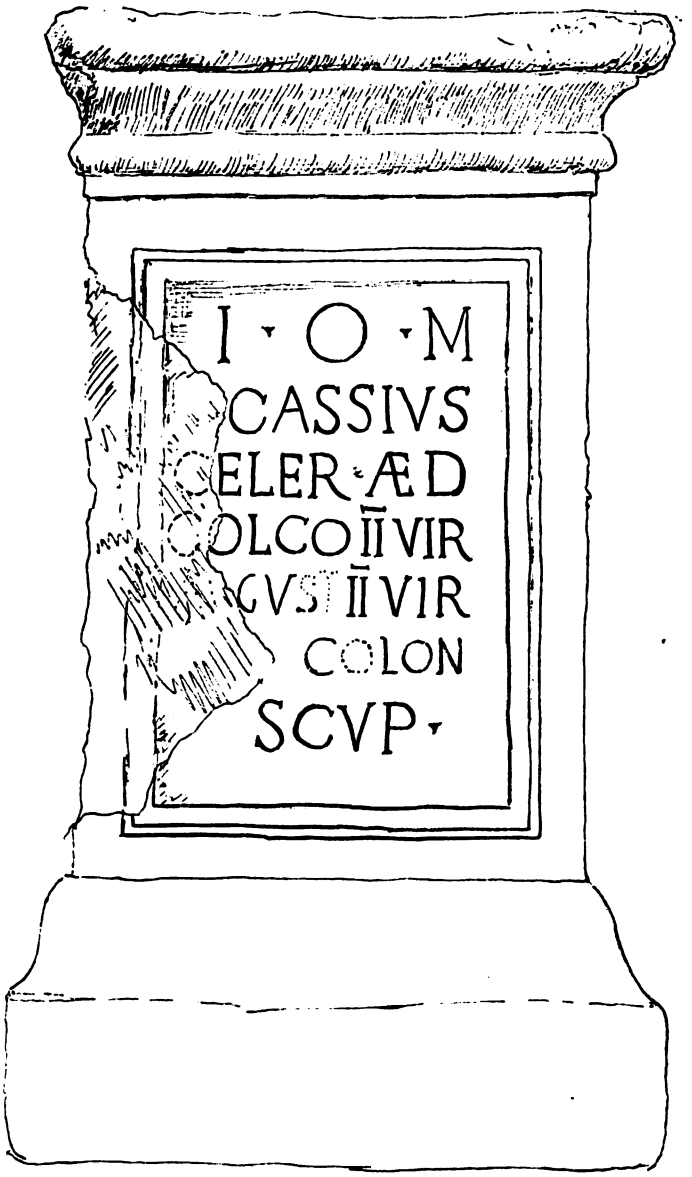


Fig. 48.

cult of Jupiter Pluvius had survived all historic changes. The ceremonial procedure essentially differs from the time-honoured Slavonic method of procuring rain. In Serbia, where the practice chiefly flourishes, a girl known as a Dodola,

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after being first stripped almost to a state of nature, and then dressed up with garlands and green branches, is led from house to house, singing what is called a Dodola song, in return for which she is well soused with water by the inmates.[a] Among the Bulgars the Dodola reappears as the "Preperuga;" and the prevalence of this practice among the old Slovene settlers in the Balkan lands is shown by its transmission from them to the Romaic Greeks[b] and the Wallachians. But libations, and libations of wine, poured on an altar, and that an altar of Jupiter, introduce us to an altogether different cult. The solemn assembly of the villagers led by the local Bey, or Mahometan landowner, irresistibly reminds us of the Roman rain-procession, as described by Petronius, when the women, "clad in stoles, made their way barefoot—chaste of mind and with dishevelled hair—to the sacred hill, and won rain from Jupiter by their prayers, so that then or never it rained bucketsfull, and all laughed to find themselves as wet as rats." Petronius speaks of the disuse of this practice at Rome itself as a sympton of the irreligious spirit of the Age, but it was precisely one of those homely rites that would most naturally survive in country places. The Emperor Antoninus, in his *Meditations*, cites the Athenian prayer, "Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, on the ploughed fields and plains of the Athenians," as the very model of simple and noble prayer. To the *paganus* it was certainly the most necessary, and in a country where both the new year's feast of the Kalendæ and the summer feast of the Rosalia are still known by derivatives of their Roman names, the possibility of a survival of the Roman rain-procession and of the calling down of rain by votive offerings and prayer cannot be absolutely excluded.

The fact that the present inhabitants of the district are Slavonic-speaking cannot weigh against this possibility. In the old Dalmatian regions I have already, more than once, had occasion to insist on the survival of the Romanized indigenous population in a Slavonic guise. In Dardania the evidence of this is at least as strong,[c] and in the neighbouring Thracian districts the old tribal names have in some cases been preserved by populations who would, so far as speech is concerned, at present be classed as Bulgarians or Serbs. Thus the

[a] Cf. Vuk Stepanović, Lexicon, *s. v. Dodola.* A Dodola song is translated by Mr. Ralston in his *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 228. The derivation is obscure.

[b] The modern Greeks have the Dodola in the form of Πορπηροῦνα which is simply derived from the nasalized old Slovene form of *Preperuga.* The Wallachian name is *Papeluga.* Compare also *Prporuše* and *Prpac*, alternative male forms of the "Dodola" among the Serbs of Dalmatia (Vuk Stefanović *Lexicon s. v.*). *Prpa* is a Serbian word for ashes mixed with water.

[c] See p. 47.

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Noropes, who inhabited this very region of the Upper Axios, re-appear as the Neropch or Meropch of the early Serbian laws; the Mijatzi of the Dibra district have been compared with their Mœsian predecessors; the Pijanci, who still inhabit a tract in Northern Macedonia, with the old Pæonians; the Šopi of the Sofia basin recall the Thracian Sapæi, and the Timaci of Ptolemy find their continuity on the banks of the same river as the Slavonic Timočiani. Amongst the Albanian tribes the evidence of the absorption of Romanized elements is still more striking, nor is this anywhere more evident than amongst those members of the Albanian race who inhabit the Dardanian ranges.[a] That these North-Easternmost representatives of Skipetaria should have become thus saturated with Latin linguistic elements—Rouman rather than Roman in character—shows the long survival in the old Dardanian province of Vlach successors of the Latin-speaking provincials, a survival amply attested by Old Serbian Chrysobulls like the Dečani grant of Stephen Dušan. There is evidence that in the early Middle Ages there was a Rouman population in the neighbourhood of Skopia.[b] Nor is the disappearance of this element from the Upper Vardar basin necessarily to be accounted for by wholesale emigration. We are justified in inferring that the same phenomenon that we have been enabled to ascertain in the case of parts of Southern Dalmatia, of Herzegovina and Montenegro, has repeated itself in these Dardanian valleys; and that here, too, a Romance population, after long existing side by side with elements Slavonic and Albanian, has finally, and after first passing through a bi-lingual stage, adopted the language of one or other of its political superiors, though more often, it must be admitted, of the Albanians. If there is one thing that my present explorations have placed beyond the region of controversy, it is that the native Dardanian population of this whole region, whether on the plains of the Vardar or in the gorges of the Karadagh and neighbouring ranges, had by the third and fourth centuries of our era become thoroughly Romanized. Roman inscriptions, as we have seen, and as I shall yet have to show, are scattered throughout the remotest glens of the country, and the proportion on them of indigenous names is distinctly less than on the monuments existing on the Roman sites in the back parts of *Dalmatia Montana*.

The present Slavonic speech of the inhabitants of Ibrahimovce is, therefore, by no means an insuperable bar to the possible survival among them of Roman traditions. The rite itself, moreover, is, as we had shown, foreign to the pre-

[a] See p. 71.

[b] Vlachs near Skopia are mentioned under the Bulgarian Czar Constantine (1258-1277). See Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 218.

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valent Slavonic usage, whether amongst Serbs or Bulgars. The cult of certain stones and rocks is, indeed, widely spread amongst the Albanians;[a] but I am not aware of any rain-compelling ceremony amongst them at all answering to that performed over this altar of Jupiter. Equally impossible is it to regard the present rite as of Oriental origin, though the Turks and Mahometans generally have undoubtedly taken over from the primitive Chaldæan religion the cult of innumerable local "betuli," besides the Caaba. On the other hand, it is well to remember that, apart from the utilization of an altar of Jove for the purpose (which may, after all, be the result of extraordinary coincidence), the practice of obtaining rain by means of libations poured on a holy stone re-appears in the most remote quarters of the globe. Thus, among the Kol tribes of Bengal the women climb the hill which is supposed to be the Rain-God himself, and place offerings of milk on the flat rock at the top, after which the wives of the Pahans, with loosened tresses, pray the Mountain God to give seasonable rain.[b] The libation on a rock for such a purpose has also Celtic parallels. In the *Roman de Rou*, the Breton hunters go to the spring of Berenton, fill their horns with water, and pour it on the fountain-stone to produce a copious rainfall.[c]

The Col . Co . . . . of the inscription on the altar is not impossibly connected with the site of a considerable Roman settlement that I discovered on the hills about half-an-hour to the East of Ibrahimovce. My attention had been originally

[a] An extraordinary instance of such a cult at the village of Selci belonging to the Clementi tribe is given in *Dečanski Prvenac*, Novisad (Neusatz), 1852, p. 81.

[b] Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, vol. ii. p. 260, 2nd ed.), who cites Dalton, *Kols in Tr. Ethn. Soc.* vol. vi. p. 35.

[c] *Roman de Rou*, ii. 6399. (*Ed. Andresen* ii. 283).

"La fontaine de Berenton
Sort d'une part lez un perron;
Aler soleient ueneor
A Berenton par grant chalor,
E a lor cors l'eue espuisier
E le perron desus moillier,
Por co soleient pluie aueir;
Issi soleit iadis ploueir
En la forest e enuirun
Mais io ne sai par quel raison."

Cf. Grimm. *Deutsche Mythologie* (4th Ed.) vol. iii. p. 494. At Kulen Vakup in Bosnia I came upon the reverse of this method. There, sacred stones are let down in a net into the spring to produce rain. If the stones were to drop out of the net a great flood would ensue. See my *Illyrian Letters*, p. 109. For another Breton parallel see Crestien de Troies, *Li romans dou Chevalier au Lyon*, v. 387, seqq.

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attracted to the spot by the sight of two round barrows which crown two opposite headlands about 250 feet above the level of the plain. The nearer of these I undertook to excavate, Féik Pasha kindly supplying me with workmen for the purpose. The greater part of the barrow, which was fourteen feet in height, consisted of a concretion of clay and calcareous particles very difficult to dig into, so that it took fifteen men two days and a-half to cut a trench as deep as the base of the mound to its centre. The results were disappointing; besides a surface interment, probably of the Roman period, consisting of two skeletons, a fragment of iron, and a couple of bronze rings, I found nothing, except some horse-bones at a depth of twelve feet. The mound would therefore not be of sepulchral origin, and both it and its fellow about a mile distant may possibly, as in the case of the mounds to be seen at intervals both on the Egnatian Way and the Agger Publicus that traversed Central Illyricum, have stood in some relation to a Roman road.

The excavation of the mound, though otherwise unfruitful, gave me leisure to explore the neighbouring country. In the valley, between the two mounds, I found the surface of the ground literally strewn with Roman tiles and pottery. The natives universally recognise the fact that an ancient town once existed here, and call the site "Selište," which literally means "the site of a settlement," the mound itself being known by the presumably Rouman name of *Tumba*. To the East of the *Tumba* the remains extended to the village of Hadžalar, in which direction the peasants assured me there had formerly been considerable blocks of masonry (since removed to build the Bey's Konak in two neighbouring villages), and the remains of a conduit constructed of tiles. Here also had been lately discovered a bronze figurine answering to the description of one that I subsequently saw in the possession of a merchant at Usküp. It represented a very late Roman type of Mercury with wings on his heels, and apparently growing out of his head. In his left arm he held an infant Faun with long pointed ears, and in his right hand a broken caduceus. In the Turkish graveyard, outside Hadžalar, I observed a large block which proved to be an altar dedicated to

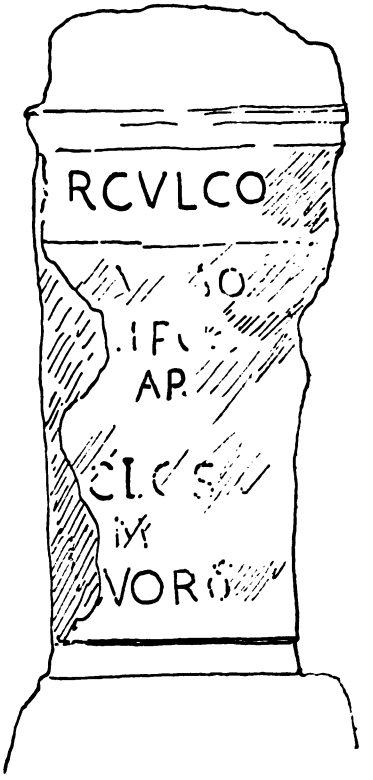


Fig. 49.

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Hercules Conservator, much defaced however, as the annexed illustration will show (fig. 49).

Above Hadžalar opens a glen leading to the village of Tekinoselo, where is a Teke or shrine kept by a Dervish, containing a stone pillar which is the object of a singular cult. I will reserve, however, an account of the mysteries at which I here assisted for another occasion, as they have not the same classic associations as those of Ibrahimovce.

From Ibrahimovce the course of the Roman road answers approximately to that of the present highway to Kaplan Khan. To the left, the road skirts a long sedgy pool known as Jezero or the Lake, more anciently the lake of Jelatno, the haunt of innumerable pelicans and wild ducks, and thence crosses a low neck of land, where the terrace of the Roman Way is distinctly visible, to the valley of the Pčinja. On the right bank of the stream, about half-an-hour above, is a spot called Illidže or Banja, where are some hot sulphur baths much frequented by the natives. The bath-house is a rude shelter surrounding a square open basin well-formed of four gradations of stone steps descending to a flat bottom, and thus resembling on a smaller scale the newly-discovered Roman bath at Bath. Above this bath-house, on the top of a rocky eminence largely composed of a sulphurous deposit, is a smaller square pool cut out of the rock and fed by a channel from a square cistern also cut out of the rock, presenting every appearance of Roman antiquity. The temperature of the water is here 105° Fahr. Above this again is another covered Turkish bath of more tepid water, and near it the remains of an ancient quarry with the ends of shafts of columns still *in situ*, showing that they were cut out of the rock into their round form before being detached from the stone matrix. Below were some modern quarries which had been worked, at the time the Macedonian railway was made, by Italian workmen, but which were wholly distinct from the ancient cuttings. Along the top of the ridge on which the baths and quarry lie was the very distinct track of an old road leading in the direction of Kaplan, with the wheel marks furrowed into the rock, reminding one of a street of Pompeii. There is thus distinct evidence that both the stone-quarries and thermal springs of Banja were known to the Romans, and I have no doubt that its site answers to the Bath Station marked on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the first after Scupi on the Thessalonica road.

It will be convenient to reserve my observations on the highland angle between the Pčinja and the Vardar and the ancient remains associated with the suggestive names of Taor and Bader till I come to discuss the birth-place of

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Justinian and the sites of Tauresium and Bederiana. I will therefore proceed at once to pass in brief review the inscriptions that I have been able to collect on the actual site of the ancient Scupi and the surrounding district, included as we may legitimately infer in the municipal *Ager*.

Of inscriptions referring to the constitution, magistrates, and hierarchy of the Roman colony I have collected nine in all, including the altar already described referring to a local Duumvir, apparently an Augustal, and giving Scupi the title of COLONIA. This title and the name of the city reappear on the inscription (fig. 50) discovered near Hassanbeg.[a]

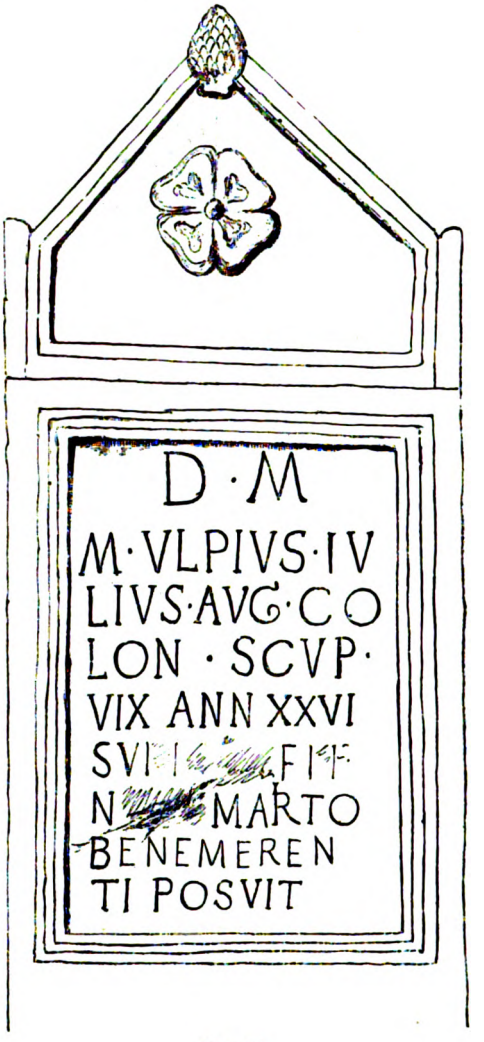


Fig. 50.

From the name *Ulpius* occurring on this monument, coupled with the fact that an *Ulpia Marcia* appears on another stone from the neighbourhood, we might be tempted to suppose that the Colony itself dated back to Trajan's time. From the title AELIA however applied to Scupi on an inscription at Rome,[b] it would appear that the town was first made a Roman Colony in the time of his successor, Hadrian. It is to Hadrian's reign therefore, or shortly after that time, that we must refer the following remarkable inscription (fig. 51, see p. 90) from Kučevište, erected to the memory of a Veteran of the Seventh Legion, who appears to have been one of the original colonists.

[a] See p. 102.

[b] NEMESI / SANCTAE / CAMPESTRI . PRO SA / LVTE . DOMINORVM . / $\overline{NN}$. $\overline{AVGG}$. P . AEL . P . F / AELIA PACATVS . / SCVPIS . QVOD . COH DOC / TOR . VOVERAT . NVNC / CAMPI . DOCTOR . COH . $\overline{I}$. / PR . PV . SOMNIO . ADMO / NITVS . POSVIT . $\overline{L}$. $\overline{L}$.
In Kellerman, *Vigil. Rom.* No. 119.

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Fig. 51.

Q. PETRONIUS . *Marci* Filius SCA*ptia* (sc. tribu) RVFVS VETE*ranus* LEG*ionis* VII *claudiae* Piae Felicis DEDVCTICIVS T*itulum* Fieri Iussit.

The stone would be remarkable if only from the fine execution of the inscription and from the arabesque design of the frieze which almost savours of Italian Renascence. The epithet DEDVCTICIVS applied to this Veteran is new to the Latin vocabulary, but on the analogy of similar forms like *deditícius*=one belonging to

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the class of *dediti*, *missicius*=of the *missi*, *translaticius*=belonging to the *translati*, can only be taken as meaning that he was one of the *deducti* or of the Veterans originally "deduced" to form the Colonia. On another monument (fig. 52) from Brazda, there appears mention of a *Miles deductus* of the same legion, and both this and the preceding are of value as revealing the name of the tribe to which the Colony belonged, namely, the Scaptian.

Fig. 53 from Nekistan, also appears to contain the word [C]OLON*ia*.



Fig. 52.

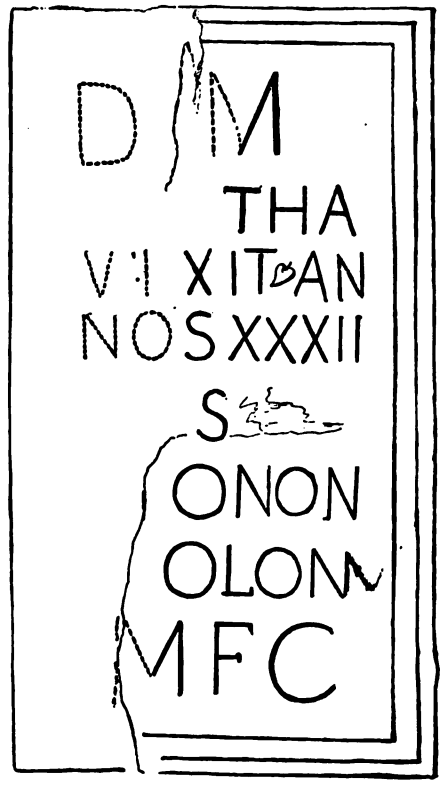


Fig. 53.

Of the highest civic interest is the following inscription (fig. 54) from the church at Kučevište[a] (see p. 90), which from the style of the letters and general execution can not well be later than the second century of our era.

[a] A mutilated and blundered version of this inscription was communicated by "a Belgrade professor" to M. Engelhardt and published by him in the *Révue Archéologique*, vol. xxvi. p. 137, from which it has been copied into the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vol. ii. p. 497. It is strange that there should have been any difficulty about this clear and beautifully-cut inscription.

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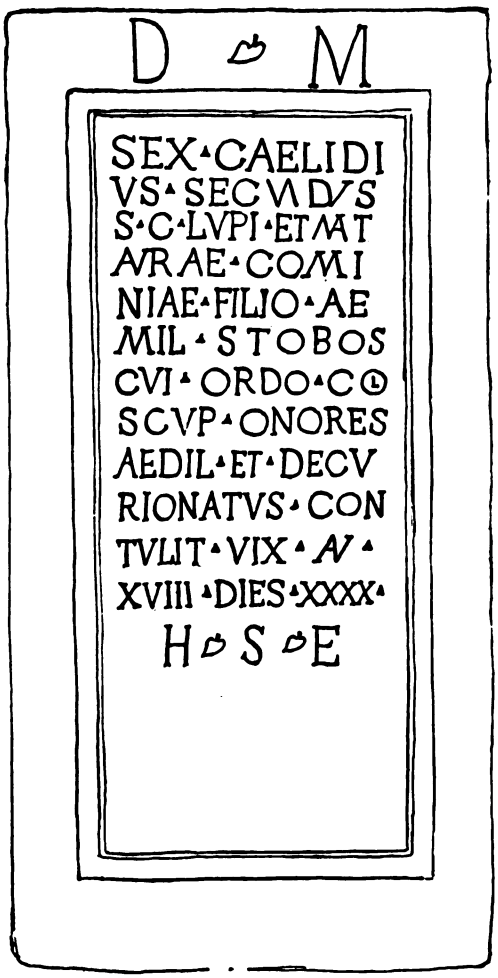


Fig. 54.

D . M.

SEXTUS CAELIDIVS SECVNDVS (*sc.* SEXTO CAELIDIO SECVNDO)
S. C. LVPI . ET MAT*ris* AVRAE COMINIAE FILIO AEMIL*ia* (*sc. Tribu*) STOBOS,
CVI ORDO COL*oniae* SCVP*ensis* ONORES AEDIL*itatis* ET DECVRIONATUS
CONTVLIT . VIX*it* AN*nos* XVIII DIES XXXX . H*ic* S*epultus* E*st*.

Here, there can be no doubt, that by an error not uncommon on sepulchral tituli the name of the Sextus Cælidius Secundus to whom the monument was erected is placed in the nominative instead of the dative case. The female form of the name, *Cælidia Secunda*, occurs in another Scupese inscription discovered at

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Zlokučani,[a] the name of AVRA or AVRHA is found on three Italian tombs.[b] This inscription is not only interesting as bringing Scupi into intimate and amicable connexion with the great Macedonian staple of the lower Axios, the Colony of Stobi, but as informing us for the first time that it was to the Æmilian tribe that Stobi belonged. The most remarkable feature however in this monument is the decree it records of the *Ordo* Coloniæ Scupensis, conferring the honorary distinction of the Ædileship and membership in the local Senate on a youth who died at the premature age of eighteen. It appears probable that in this case[c] the titles belonged to the "*sepulchri supervacuos honores*" of a kind specially frequent, it would seem, in the Macedonian province. On monuments found at Drama, near Philippi,[d] the "ornamenta decurionalia" are found conferred on mere children of five and six years of age. The mention of the name of Scupi on this and two of the preceding inscriptions (figs. 48 and 50) will sufficiently refute those geographers who, like Professor Tomaschek, would transport the ancient Scupi from the banks of the Vardar and the vicinity of Üsküp to some as yet undiscovered Roman site in the valley of the Bulgarian Morava.

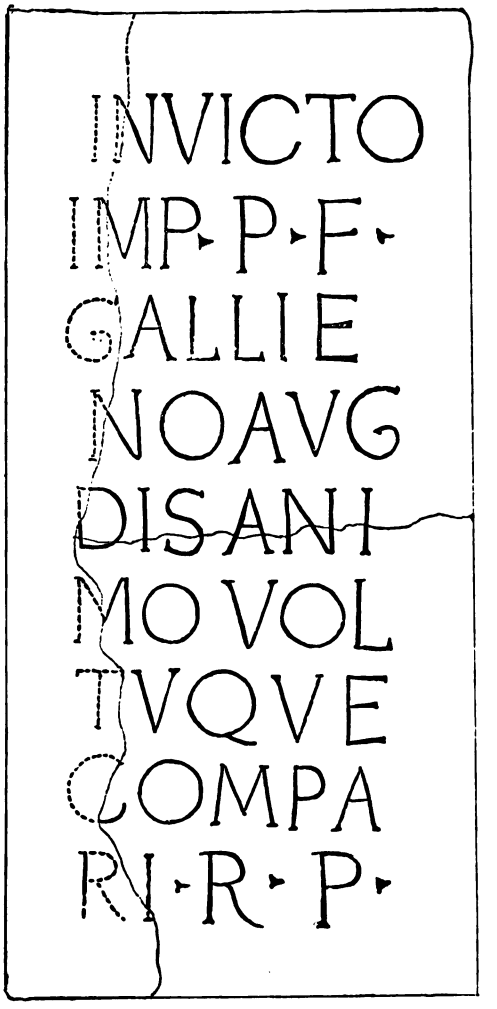


Fig. 55.

The most interesting historic monument however of Roman Scupi (fig. 55) remains to

[a] D . M / CAELIDIA . SE / CVNDA . VIX . AN L / H . S . E . CL / HERCVLANVS MA / RITVS B . M . P . . Given in *Eph. Ep.* vol. ii. 498.

[b] C. I. L. v. 5963, NVMMIA AVRHA, of Canusium; ix. 395, ATILIA AVRA, at Milan; x. 2438, MARCIA AVRA, at Naples.

[c] See Mommsen, *Eph. Ep. loc. cit.*; and cf. C. I. L. v. 1892, where in the case of the *ornamenta duoviralia* he observes: "Ornamenta duoviralia cum non soleant concedi vivo nisi ei qui per legem duovir fieri non possit, crediderim et hic et in aliis similibus (ut Henzen 7172), ubi ingenuis ea tribuuntur, significari ornamenta post mortem decreta, sepulturæ causa."

[d] C. I. L. iii. 649, 659.

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be described. This is the broken slab found by me on the steep of Davina (see p. 92) containing the following remarkable dedication to the Emperor Gallienus by the local Commonwealth.

*I*NVICTO IMP*eratori Pio Felici* GALLIENO AVG*usto*,
DIS ANIMO VOL*T*VQVE COMPA*RI*
RE*s Publica.*

From the form of the slab (which is about five feet high), it may be assumed that it formed part of the basis of a statue of the Emperor himself,[a] and a historical record has been preserved to us which supplies at least a probable occasion for the erection of such a monument by the citizens of Scupi. The reign of Gallienus was one of the darkest periods in the history of the Illyrian provinces under the Roman Empire. It was at this time that Trajan's Dacia was virtually lost,[b] though a formal recognition of the fact was postponed to the time of Aurelian. Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, and Epirus were over-run by the Goths, while the Sarmatian hordes, after devastating the Pannonias in conjunction with the Quadi in, or shortly after, 258 A.D.[c] extended their ravages to the neighbouring Mœsian province. From a letter of Claudius, afterwards of Gothic fame, to Regalian, then "Dux Illyrici," it appears that Gallienus' lieutenant had gained a victory, or rather a series of victories in a single day, over the Sarmatians under the walls of Scupi. "I have learnt," says Claudius in this epistle, "what you have shown yourself to be in the fight at Scupi, of the number of your conflicts in a single day, and of the speed with which you brought them to a successful issue." Claudius begs him to send him of the spoil some Sarmatian bows and a couple of cloaks with their fibulas attached, the Sarmatian fibula being then highly prized in the Roman Empire. He warns Regalian however, in cautious language, to be careful with his victories as more likely under such a prince to lead to the scaffold than to a triumph.[d]

[a] Compare for the abbreviated character of the lines the almost contemporary inscription on a six-sided base of a statue of Marsyas erected PRO SA / LVTE / ET IN / COLV / MITA / TE D D / N N VA / LERIA / NIET / GALLI / ENI / AVGG &c. at Verecunda in the Province of Numidia (C. I. L. viii. 4219). The whole inscription in this latter case extended over three sides of the base containing severally twelve, fourteen, and eight lines.

[b] Sextus Rufus, in *Brev.* "Dacia Gallieno imperatore amissa est." For Aurelian's Dacia cf. *Fl. Vopiscus*, 39, from whom Eutropius (ix. 15) copies. Mœsia is described as "deperdita" at this time.

[c] "Fusco (*lege* Tusco) et Basso Consulibus" the date of Ingenuus' revolt (*Treb. Poll.* xxx *Tyranni.* 8), which was caused by the imminence of this Sarmatian invasion.

[d] Treb. Pollio. *Triginta Tyranni* ix. "Claudius Regilliano *(sic)* multam salutem. Felicem

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This victory, as gained under the auspices of Gallienus, would in official acts be ascribed to his name, and in the triumph which he celebrated at Rome, on the occasion of his *decennalia* in 263, we find Sarmatian captives, real or pretended, led amongst the others. There were, moreover, special reasons why the citizens of Scupi, then with the other Dardanian cities included in Upper Mœsia, should seek to court Gallienus' favour. The inhabitants of Mœsia had just received a fearful lesson of the Emperor's ferocity in the massacres and executions consequent on the abortive elevation of Ingenuus to the purple by the provincial legionaries. Gallienus, roused on this occasion from his habitual apathy, had fallen with fury on Ingenuus' supporters, and, having defeated the usurper, "wreaked a savage vengeance not only on the Mœsian soldiers but on the citizens at large." In some cities, we are told,[a] the whole male population was exterminated, and it was on this occasion that Gallienus addressed to his lieutenant Verianus a letter unsurpassed in any age for bloodthirsty ferocity.[b] The outcome of these cruelties was that the Mœsians in despair proclaimed Regalianus, whose victory over the Sarmatians had proved his capacity, and whose Dacian parentage and alleged descent from Decebalus himself[c] apparently appealed to some still not wholly unextinguished feeling of Dacian nationality in the Illyrian Provinces, a feeling to which Galerius[d] seems to have had recourse at a later date. Such, however, had been the impression produced by Gallienus' savagery, that on the initiative of the Roxalanian allies, but with the consent of the soldiers and provincials who feared

Rempublicam quæ te talem virum habere rei castrensis bellis his meruit, felicem Gallienum, etiamsi ei vera nemo nec de bonis, nec de malis nuntiat. Pertulerunt ad me Bonitus et Celsus stipatores Principis nostri qualis apud Scupos in pugnando fueris quot uno die prælia et qua celeritate confeceris. Dignus eras triumpho si antiqua tempora exstarent. Sed quid multa? Memor cujusdam ominis cautius velim vincas. Arcus Sarmaticos et duo saga ad me velim mittas, sed fibulatoria, cum ipse miserim de nostris." The "omen" referred to was no doubt the fate of Ingenuus.

[a] *Treb. Pollio. Triginta Tyranni*, viii. "In omnes Mœsiacos, tam milites quam cives, asperrime sæviit, nec quemquam suæ crudelitatis exsortem reliquit: usque adeo asper et truculentus ut plerasque civitates vacuas a virili sexu relinqueret."

[b] *Ib.* "Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis, si et senes atque impuberes sine reprehensione nostra occidi possent. Occidendus est quicumque male voluit, occidendus est quicumque male dixit contra me, contra Valeriani filium, contra tot principum patrem et fratrem. Ingenuus factus est imperator. Lacera, occide, concide."

[c] Treb. Poll. *Triginta Tyranni*, ix. "Gentis Daciæ, Decebali ipsius ut fertur affinis."

[d] Cf. Lactantius *de Mortibus Persecutorum* C. xxvii. "Olim quidem ille, ut nomen Imperatoris acceperat, hostem se Romani nominis erat professus, cujus titulum immutari volebat ut non Romanum imperium sed Daciscum cognominaretur."

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new scenes of sanguinary vengeance, the usurper was slain by his own supporters. It will be seen that there were sufficient reasons why the inhabitants of Scupi should erect an adulatory monument to Gallienus, and it seems natural to connect this inscription with the historic victory achieved by Gallienus' lieutenant under the walls of their city and with the civil troubles of which this barbarian repulse was the prelude. In 267, after his residence in Greece, we find Gallienus himself gaining a victory over the Goths in Illyricum, but the scene of the combat is not given, nor have we any historic ground for connecting it with Scupi, though it is always possible that the Emperor in returning to the West may have passed through this city.

The elaborate and superlative adulation of the inscription before us reminds us somewhat of that on the Arch of Gallienus at Rome:[b]

GALLIENO . CLEMENTISSIMO . PRINCIPI . CVIVS . INVICTA .
VIRTUS . SOLA . PIETATE . SVPERATA . EST.

where the strangely misplaced compliments to a prince whose inert and unfilial conduct was notorious read like a satire. In the present case the comparison of Gallienus with the Gods "both in soul and countenance" is quite in harmony with the numismatic records of this reign, where the Emperor appears with the alternate attributes of Mars, Hercules, and Mercury.[c] He seems, however, to have regarded himself as in some special way under the protection of Apollo, whether under the refined Hellenic aspect of the God as patron of the arts in which Gallienus himself, even on his detractors' showing,[d] was allowed to excel, or in a more mysterious Oriental character as the Unconquered Mithra or the

[a] The revolt of Regalianus appears to have taken place about the date of Gallienus' *Decennalia*, A.D. 263. Cf. Clinton *Fasti Romani; ad annum.*

[b] C. I. L. vi. 1106.

[c] The language of the present inscription recalls the lines of Calpurnius (Ecl. IV.)

"In uno
Et Martis vultus et Apollinis esse notatur."

The flattering comparison of Calpurnius is, however, addressed, as Moriz Haupt has conclusively shown *(De Carminibus bucolicis Calpurnii et Nemesiani)*, to Nero and not, as earlier commentators supposed, to Carinus or Gallienus himself.

[d] Treb. Pollio. *Duo Gallieni.* "Fuit enim Gallienus (quod negari non potest) oratione, poëmate, atque omnibus artibus clarus. Hujus est illud epithalamium quod inter centum poëtas præcipuum fuit."

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Edessan God Azizus,[a] the warlike slayer of the Python. The colossal and never to be completed statue which Gallienus had designed to erect to himself on the summit of the Esquiline[b] represented the Emperor in the guise of the Sun-god, nor shall we be thought hypercritical if we find in the dedication before us, beginning as it does INVICTO, a hint as to the character of the divinity with whose attributes the Emperor would be invested in the statue which probably surmounted the inscribed base. On the reverse of coins of Gallienus the inscription INVICTVS, INVICTO AUG. surrounds the image of the radiated Sun-god; on a coin of Carausius[c] the Emperor's head is conjugated with the rayed head of Mithra, and with the inscription INVICTO ET CARAVSIO AVG. and according to the usage of the times this epithet had acquired a too specialized religious meaning, as associated with the Persian cult, to be without at least an allusive significance when added to the title

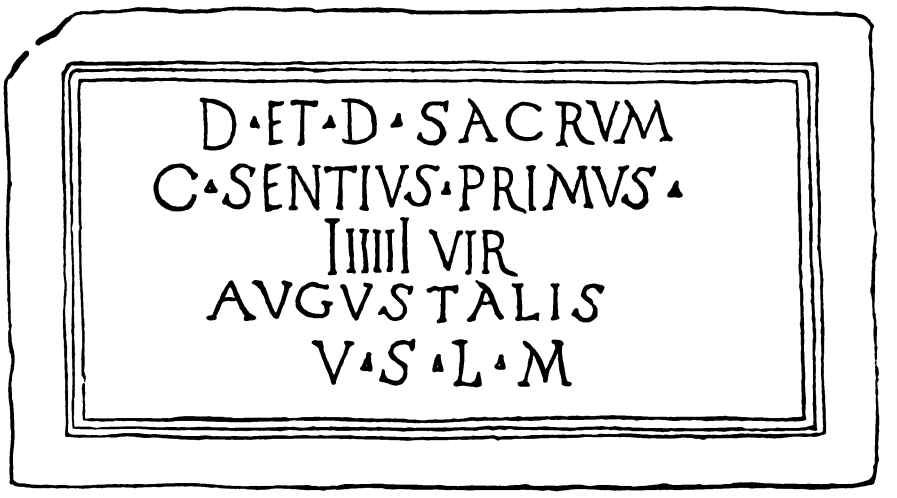


Fig. 56.

[a] Thus we find the Præfectus of the 5th Macedonian Legion at Potaissa in Dacia erecting a votive altar to Azizus "Bonus Puer Conservator" for the health of Valerian and Gallienus. C. I. L III. 875. Julian Or. IV. mentions the worship of Azizus at Edessa in conjunction with that of the Sun, and notices that Jamblichus identifies this god with Ares. From inscriptions found at Apulum, however, as Mommsen has pointed out, Azizus is seen to be the equivalent of Apollo Pythius. See C. I. L. III. 1133.

[b] Treb. Pollio. *Gallieni Duo:* "Statuam sibi majorem colosso fieri præcepit, Solis habitu, sed ea imperfecta periit . . . Poni autem illam voluerat in summo Esquiliarum monte, ita ut hastam teneret, per cujus caput infans ad summum posset ascendere. Sed et Claudio et Aureliano deinceps stulta res visa est, &c."

[c] In my father's cabinet: unpublished.

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of an Emperor who reigned in the latter half of the third century and who had himself in a special way assumed the Sun-god's attributes.

From the monument erected by the *Respublica Scupensis* to this imperial "compeer of the Gods" we may pass to those which illustrate the local cult of the Gods themselves. To the two inscriptions (figs. 48, 50) already given referring to the College of the Augustales I may add the following (fig. 56) excavated by me on the actual site of Scupi (see p. 87).

Besides this altar, dedicated DIS ET DEABUS, votive monuments to Jove and Hercules, as well as a bronze statuette of Mercury, have been already mentioned. The fragment (fig. 57) presenting part of the Greek inscription, with letters of a form not uncommon on Macedonian monuments, found in modern Üsküp (see p. 101), probably formed part of an altar of Zeus, as may be gathered from its having an eagle relief on its side.

The fragmentary dedication (fig. 58) found by me in the ruined Church of Ljubanze is of a more enigmatic character.

That the abbreviated FLL in the third line stands for *Flamines* may be gathered from other examples. The God whose name begins with ZE . . . . . however is not so clear. The initial letter is rather suggestive of a Thracian connexion. There exists a Thracian Asclepius Zimidrenus.[a]

To these may be added the altar of Silvanus (fig. 59) near the Musta Mosque in Üsküp itself (see p. 101).

Of imperial records, with the exception of the monument to Gallienus and the two fragmentary milestones already given, I found nothing more than the imperfect votive dedication to Septimius Severus and Caracalla which still exists where Ami Boué first observed it, walled into the Byzantine Aqueduct.[b] Of military inscriptions referring to the LEGIO VII CLAVDIA PIA FIDELIS there was an abundance. Four have been already given,[c] two of these being of considerable interest as showing that the veterans to whom they severally referred as "deductus" or "deducticius" had been amongst those led hither to form the original colony. A monument of a Miles Frumentarius of this legion from Bardovce (see p. 88), is interesting from the well-preserved relief which it presents of a soldier standing between a veiled and seated female figure and a boy

[a] Cf. C. I. L. vi. 2385.

[b] Ami Boué, *Turquie d'Europe*, 2, 354; C. I. L. iii. 1696; PRO SALVte *imp.* Caes. L. *septimi* Severi Pertinacis Aug. Arab. / ADIAB. POnt. Max. . . . / M. AVRELI Antonini Caes. . . . The A of ADIABenici is clear.

[c] Two from the neighbouring Markova Rjeka district (Figs. 43, 46).

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Fig. 58.

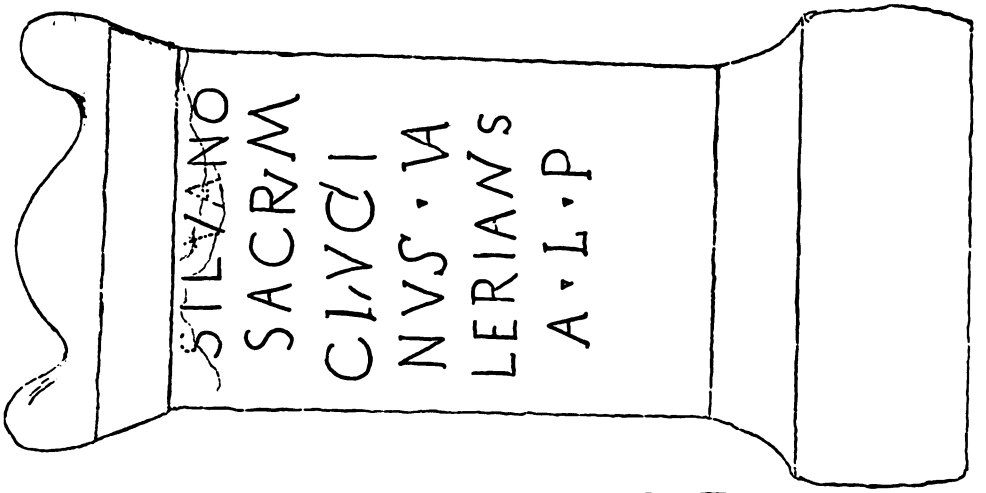


Fig. 59.



Fig. 57.

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or Genius carrying in his right hand a kind of chest, such as not infrequently occurs on tombs, and in the left what appears to be a conventional representation of ears of corn, doubtless in allusion to the soldier's office.[a] The *Milites Frumentarii* were enrolled amongst the *Peregrini*, who had their *Castra* on the Cœlian, at Rome, and who were a kind of imperial gendarmerie.[b] The Frumentarii themselves, from being originally connected with the collection of the *Annona*, were found useful by the Emperors for obtaining secret information regarding provincial affairs, and hence grew into a kind of spy service. Though abolished by Diocletian their hateful functions continued to be fulfilled by the *Agentes in rebus* of his successors.[c]

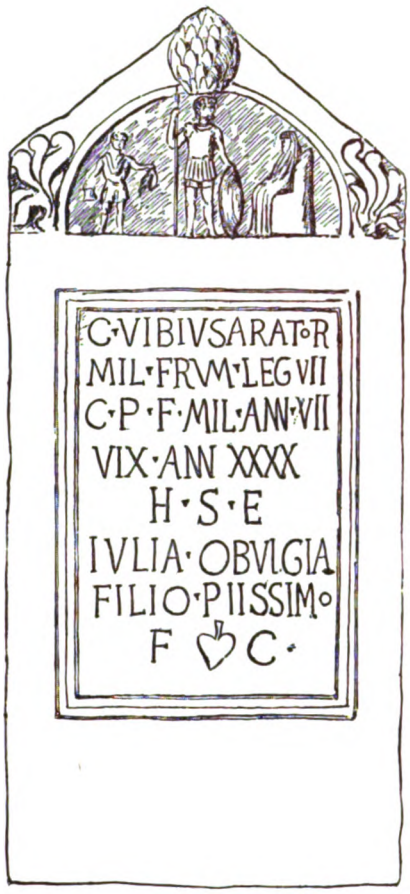


Fig. 60.

The next military titulus, which I observed at Mirkovce in two pieces is, unfortunately, too fragmentary to admit of complete restitution. It is evident, however, that it refers to a certain C. Julius Longinus, a veteran of the same (seventh) legion, who had received his *missio honesta*. It may be suggested that DARD in the fifth line of the second fragment refers to an *Ala Dardanorum*. An *Ala Vespasiana Dardanorum* is referred to in three military diplomas[d] relating to Lower Mœsia. From the imposing character of the letters and the size of the monument it may be inferred that the officer commemorated was of some distinction. The inscription belonged to a good period.

The last legionary monument to which I have to call attention from this

[a] A copy of the inscription sent by the Austrian Consul Lippich was published by Dr. Friedrich Kenner (*Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akademie d. Wissensch.* vol. 80, p. 275, and see *Eph. Ep.* vol. iv.), but the relief is inaccurately described. In Dr. Kenner's version, line 6, OBVLCIIA.

[b] See Henzen, *Sui militi peregrini e frumentarii*, in *Bullettino dell' instituto di Corr. Archeologica*, 1851, p. 113 *seqq.*

[c] Aurelius Victor, *De Cæss.* 39, speaking of Diocletian, says: *remoto pestilenti frumentariorum genere quorum nunc agentes in rebus simillimi sunt.*

[d] C. I. L. iii. D. xx. xxii. xxxiv.

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district relates to a *Cornicularius* of the same seventh legion and records a testamentary disposition of the deceased.

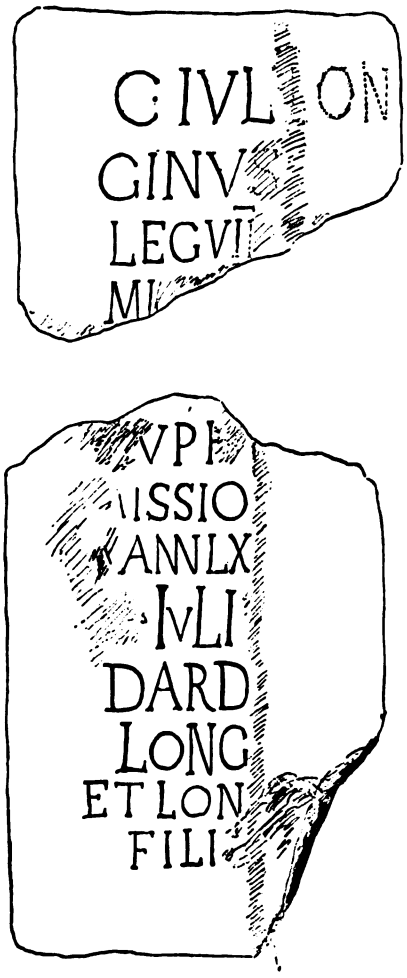


Fig. 61.

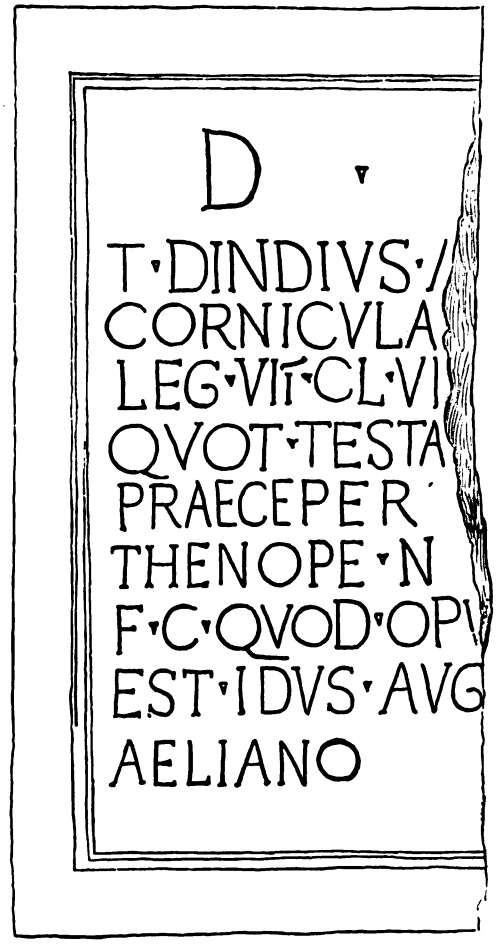


Fig. 62.

D. *M*

T. DINDIVS . A /////// CORNICVLA*RIVS LEGATI*

LEG . VII . CL . VI*XIT ANNOS* //// QVOT . TESTA*MENTO HEREDES*

PRAECEPER*VNT* . *ARAM* . *PAR*THENOPE.N*EPTIS* ///// F . C . QVOD OPV*S*

CONFECTVM EST . IDVS . AVG . *CRISPINO ET* AELIANO *COS* .

"*Præcipere testamento*" is a well-known law-term signifying, of legatees, "to

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Fig. 63.

receive in advance," before the rest of the property bequeathed is divided.[a] In the present case this advance seems to have been conditional on the execution of some pious work, of which however, owing to an unfortunate lacuna in the stone, we only learn that it was completed on the Ides of August, in the consulship of Crispinus[b] and Ælianus (A.D. 187), under the rule therefore of Commodus.

The head-quarters of the *Legio VII. Claudia Pia Fidelis* were at Viminacium (Kostolac on the Danube), and on the coins and monuments[c] of this Mœsian city the local Genius is associated with the bull, which was the symbol of the seventh legion. From the inscriptions, figs. 51, 52, it appears that the original colony of Scupi was formed of veterans of this legion. At the beginning of the third century Dion Cassius[d] mentions "the seventh, generally called the Claudian," in Upper Mœsia, and their *Præfectura* was still at Viminacium at the time when the *Notitia* was drawn up.[e]

This legion was stationed in Dalmatia previous to Vespasian's withdrawal of the legions from that province.[f] On an inscription at

[a] Cf. *Forcellini Lexicon* (Ed. De Vit), *s. v.* Præceptio. "Per præceptionen dare, legare, relinquere, est ita dare ut percipiatur ante quam tota hereditas dividatur et partes aliis coheredibus distribuantur." Julian, *Dig.* 30, 122, "Si heres centum præcipere jussus sit."

[b] In 184 Ælianus had been consul in conjunction with Marullus. The name of Crispinus however squares better with the letter-space at our disposal, which has been very accurately observed throughout this inscription.

[c] Cf. especially a bas-relief of the Genius of Viminacium represented as a stoled female figure with her right hand on the bull of the 7th, Claudian, Legion, and her left on the lion, which here stands for the 4th Legion (figured by Kanitz, *Beitrage zur Alterthumskunde der serbischen Donau*, in *Mitth. d. Central. Comm.* 1867, 28 *seqq.*) The same device is common on the coins of this city.

[d] Lib. iv. c. 23: "Καὶ ἑβδομοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω οἱ τὰ μάλιστα Κλαυδίειοι ὠνομάζαται."

[e] "Præfecturæ Leg. vii. Claudiæ Viminacio."

[f] Mommsen, C. I. L. iii. 272. Cf. Inscriptions at Narona (1813, 1814, 1818), Salona (2014,

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Naissus[a] (Nish) this Claudian legion receives the additional title *Severiana*, a title also born by the fourth Claudian legion stationed at Singidunum.

Of the private inscriptions, of which I have collected a considerable number (see Pl. I. II. III.) the following (fig. 63) from Neresi (see p. 97) is specially interesting, as presenting us with a Thracian name-form with its Roman equivalent:

DIS - MANIBUS / //// MAXI / MVS - VIXIT / AN - L - HIC
SEPULTUS EST/VALERIUS EVPOR/QUI ET MAXIM*VS*
FILIUS ET L/MANLI*VS VA*L/ENTIN*VS* C/////
ET SERVE*NA*? //// / VIVE B
Faciendum Curaverunt.

The name EVPOR which presents obvious analogies with other Thracian names such as Mucapor, Sempor, Dindiporis,[b] and Bithoporus King of the Costoboci, occurs as a widely diffused Thracian name.[c] The present formula VAL . EVPOR QVI ET MAXIMVS is interesting as giving the Roman name "Maximus" as an alternative form for the more barbaric "Eupor." This formula answers to that of other inscriptions in which indigenous Thracian and Illyrian names occur, and notably to the case of the remarkable Thracian inscription found by Heuzey[d] at Drama, near Philippi, beginning: BITHVS . TAVZIGIS . FILIUS . QVI . ET MACER . AN . LX . TAVZIES . BITHI . QVI ET RVFVS.

The name Eupor under the Hellenized form Eupōros, to be distinguished from the not infrequent Hellenic name Eupŏros, occurs on the annexed inscription which I observed at Salonica, where it had been recently discovered, together with figs. 65 and 66, which, as also unpublished, I here place beside it.

In this connexion I may mention that I also noticed at Salonica, in the court of the Konak, the following inscription (fig. 67), interesting both from the reliefs it

2019, 2040, 2033, 2048, 2071), at Tilurium (Gardun), (2709, 2710, 2714, 2716, 2717), where Mommsen fixes their Prætorium, at Nedinum (2882), and at Jader (2908, 2913). Detachments of this Legion are found serving in Syria and Asia.

[a] C. I. L. iii. 1676.

[b] Bithynian, C. I. G. 3795; cf. Tomaschek, *Brumalia, &c.* p. 386, for this and other instances. Tomaschek also compares names like Rascupolis, Abrupolis.

[c] The name occurs in Dalmatia, Italy, and other parts of the Empire.

[d] *Revue Archéologique, VI. Année* (1865), p. 451. Tomaschek, *op. cit.* p. 392, cites other instances, I. R. N. 513, EVTICHIA QAE ET BVTIN; 2810, C . RAVONIVS . CELER . QVI . ET . BATO . SCENOBARBI . NATIONE . MAEZeius (Dalmatian), &c.

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represents and the Thracian names it contains, and which was not improbably brought to that city along with other inscriptions[a] from the Thracian borders.

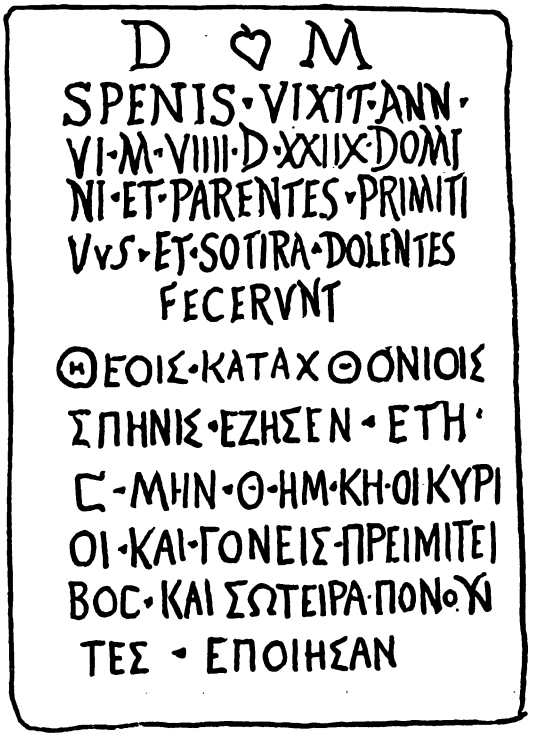


Fig. 65.

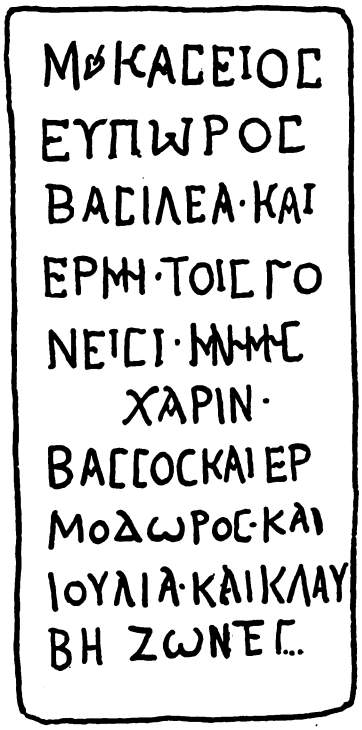


Fig. 64.

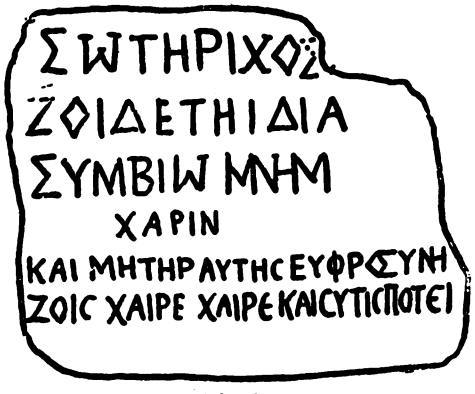


Fig. 66.

[a] I was informed that some had been lately thus transported to Salonica from Zlokucani. Others have in the same way been removed by the Turkish authorities from Bardovce. Monuments with sculpture are more especially sought for by the Turkish authorities as they are thought to have a monetary value. No pains are taken in such cases to preserve a record of the locality where the monuments were found.

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The occurrence in the epigraphic records of the district of Thracian name-forms on the one hand, and Illyrian—such as the form *Gatties* already mentioned (p. 99), and perhaps also the God *Andinus* (p. 74)—on the other, is quite consistent with what we gather from other sources as to the ethnography of the ancient Dardania. That the European Dardani were originally one and the same people as their Trojan namesakes, agrees with what we learn from ancient writers as to the Thracian descent of so many Asianic tribes. On the other hand the early names of the Dardanian princes in Europe, such as Monunios, Longaros, and Bato,[a] present unquestionable Illyrian affinities. The same intermixture of the Illyrian and Thracian elements, of which the births of Justin the Thracian and Justinian on Dardanian soil are conspicuous examples, results from a comparison of the local names of Justinian's castles in Dardania supplied by Procopius. On the whole, however, on comparing the names[b] supplied by the inscriptions from this district, we are struck with the evidence they supply of its thoroughgoing Romanization. Of Greek inscriptions from Scupi and its vicinity I am able to supply but two (figs. 57, 79),[c] though names of Greek origin are not infrequent.



Fig. 67.

Amongst other private inscriptions of interest may be mentioned the concluding part of an elegiac epitaph to a local Nestor.

[a] Cf. Tomaschek, *Zur Kunde der Hæmus-Halbinsel* (Sitzungsb. d. k. Akad. d. W. 1881. H. 2, p. 446.)

[b] A Dardanian with the Illyrian name *Epicadus* is mentioned on an inscription at Rome C. I. L. VI. 2845.

[c] Cf. also the uncertain fragment from Taor (p. 145) and the later Byzantine inscription on the walls of Skopia.

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Fig. 68.

. . . . . TRANQVILLA PER ANNOS
AEMVLA QVE IN CVNCTIS FORMA SENI PYLIO

In another case (fig. 69) a citizen of Methymna in Lesbos is mentioned, who died at Scupi at the mature age of eighty. Of unquestionably Christian inscriptions I am only able to describe one (fig. 88). It is engraved in a late and quasi cursive style on a tile which my wife picked up on the actual Acropolis of Scupi.

There is, indeed, ample evidence that under the Christian Emperors Scupi retained its importance. When, in accordance with the new division of the Empire, Dardania[a] had again been detached from Upper Mœsia, Scupi became the chief civil and ecclesiastical *Metropolis* of the newly constituted Dardanian Province. A Bishop of Scupi[b] is the first-mentioned of the two Dardanian Bishops who attended the Council of Serdica in 347 A.D. In 379, the year in which Theodosius expelled the Goths from Thrace, we find him dating a law from this city,[c] and again in 388.[d] Ten years later, St. Paulinus of Nola, mentions Scupi among the important Illyrian cities that St. Nicetas, of Remesiana, would visit on his return from Italy to his Dacian See.[e] On the Tabula Peutingeriana Scupi is

[a] Less the part which was now incorporated in *Dacia Mediterranea*. Naissus itself had been included in the older and more extensive *Dardania* by Ptolemy.

[b] "Paregorius a Dardania de Scupis": the other Dardanian Bishop who attended this council was Macedonius of Ulpiana. Mansi, *Conc.*

[c] Cod. Theod. *De Palatinis* l. 2, dated "Scopis."

[d] Cod. Theod. *De Decurionibus* l. 119, dated "Scupis.'

[e] S. Paulini Nolensis C. xxx: *De reditu Nicetæ Episcopi in Daciam:* see p. 163 *seqq.*

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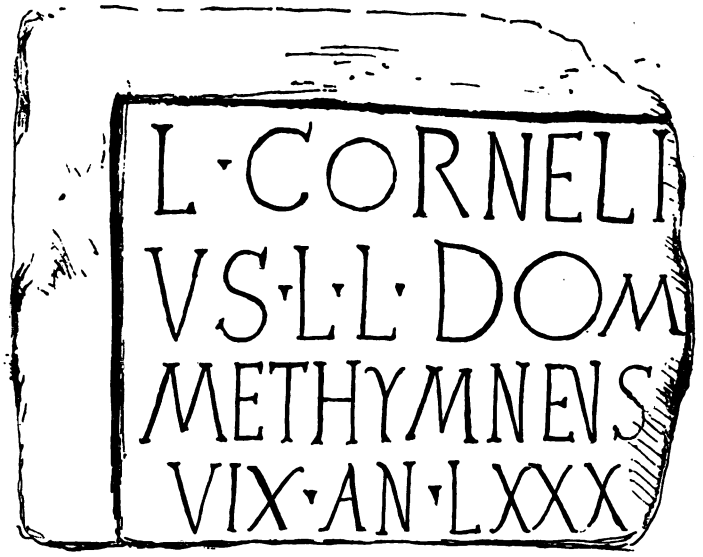


Fig. 69.

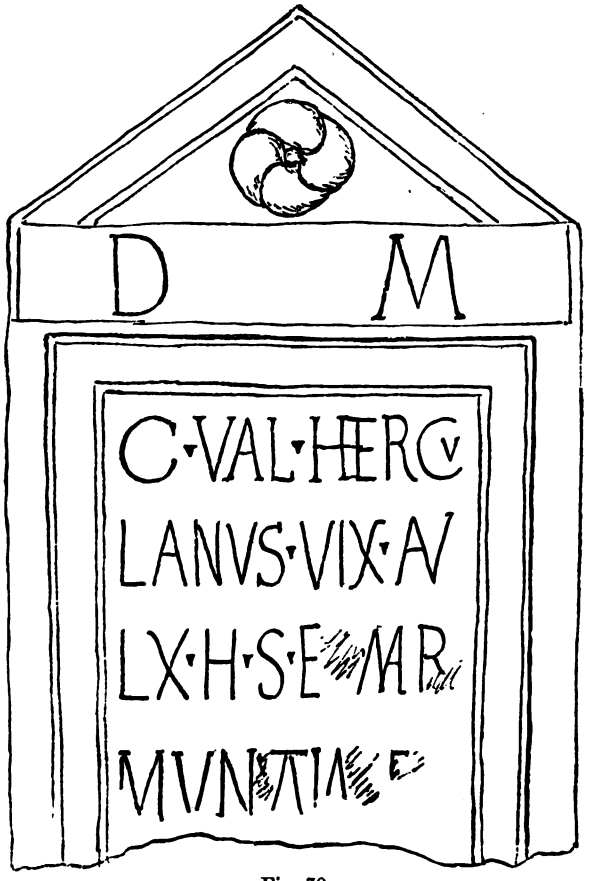


Fig. 70.

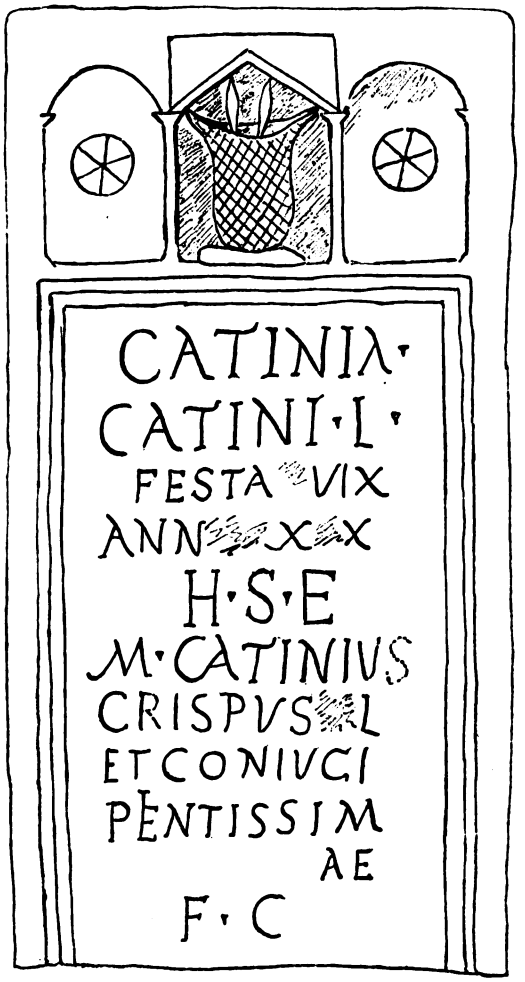


Fig. 71.

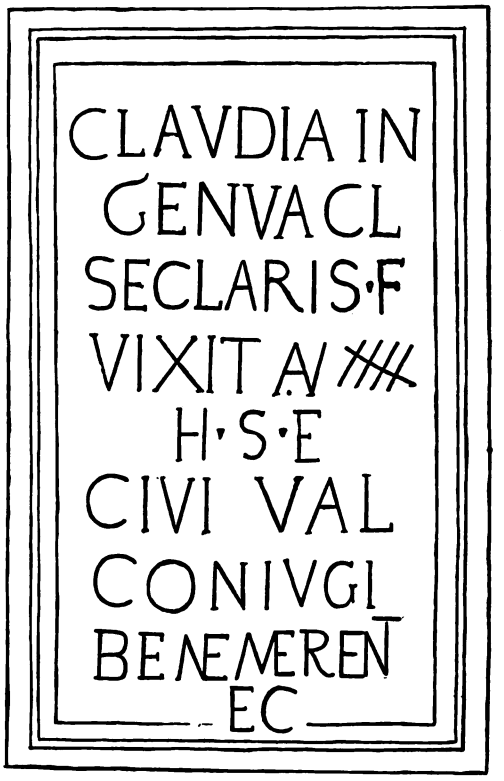


Fig. 72.

ROMAN SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SITE OF SCVPI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.—I.

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Fig. 73.



Fig. 74.

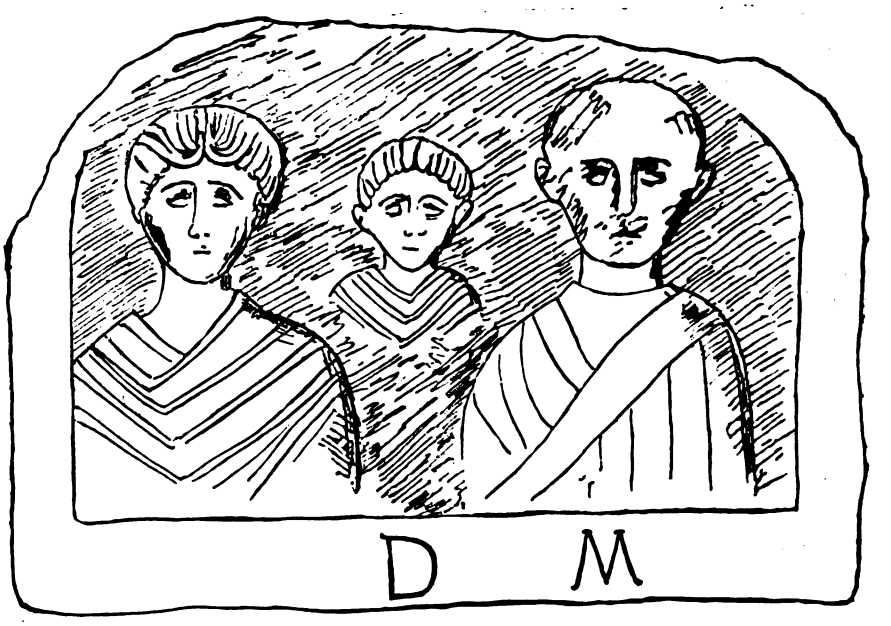


Fig. 75.

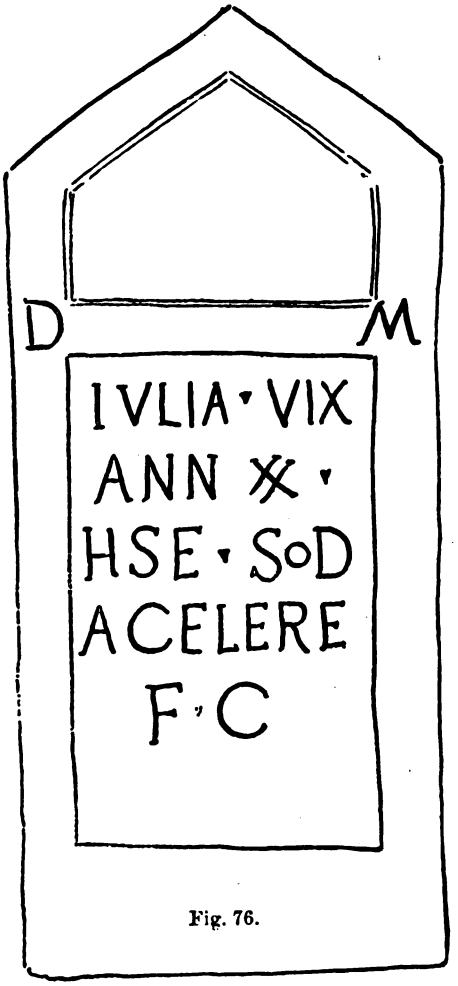


Fig. 76.



Fig. 77.

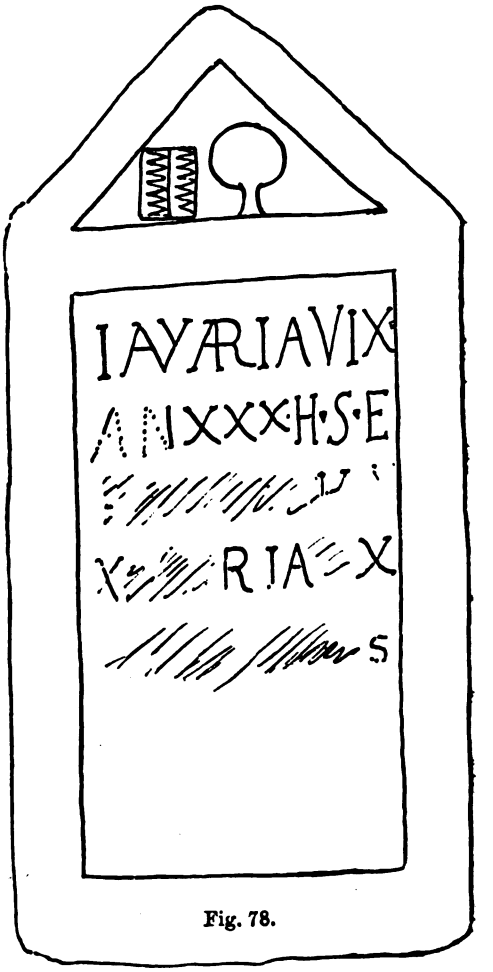


Fig. 78.

ROMAN SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SITE OF SCVPI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.—II.

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Fig. 79.



Fig. 80.



Fig. 81.

Fig. 82.

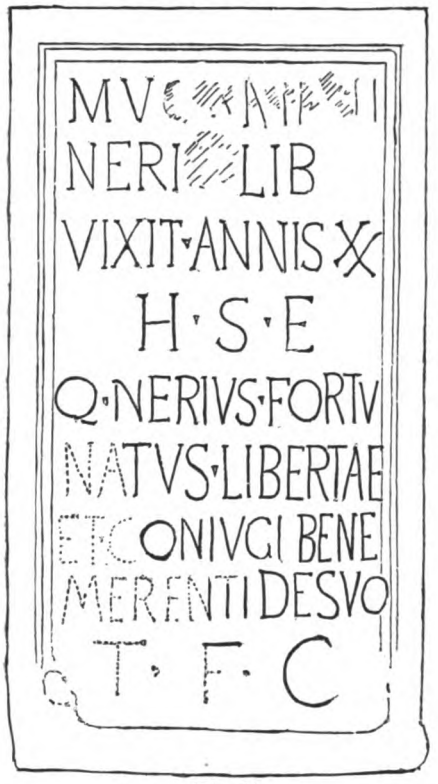


Fig. 83.

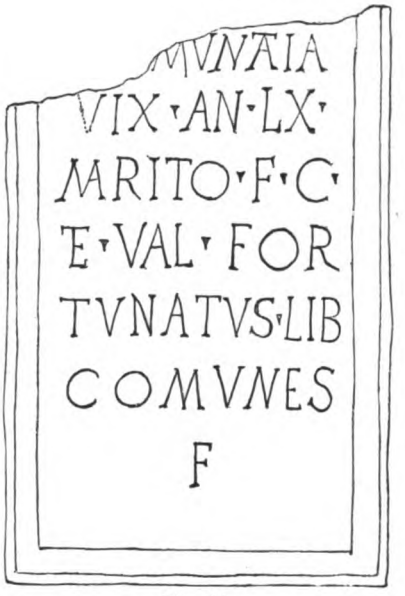


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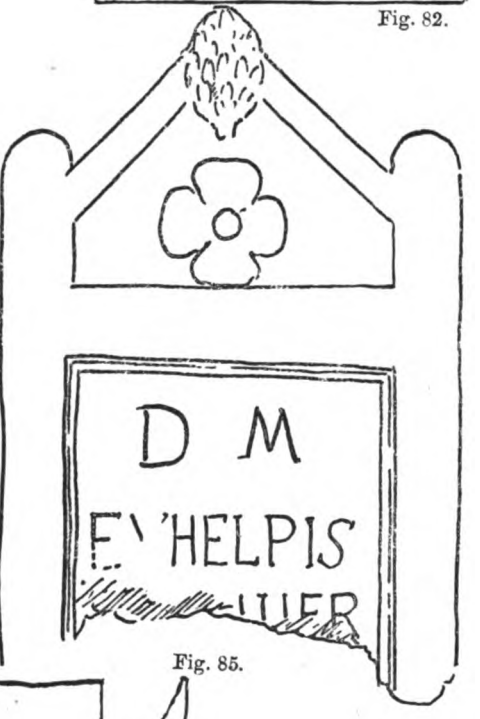


Fig. 85.

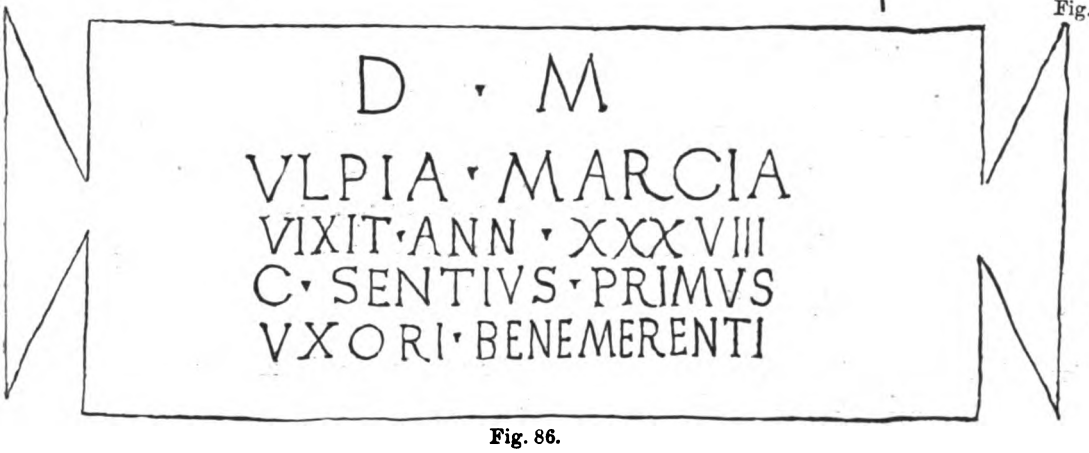


Fig. 86.



Fig. 87.

ROMAN SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SITE OF SCVPI AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.—III.

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indicated by the two towers of a Prætorian gate, and the continued importance of this city as a place of arms appears from the *Notitia Imperii*, when the "Comi-



Fig. 88.

tatenses Scupenses" are mentioned among the Legiones Pseudocomitatenses under the command of the Magister Militum per Illyricum.[a]

It was natural that Scupi along with the other cities of this Illyrian region should have suffered from the barbarian ravages so eloquently described by Saint Jerome, and which culminated in the days of Attila. About the year 480 we find Zeno's lieutenant, Adamantius, exhorting Theodoric to forego his claims on Epirus, as it was intolerable that the inhabitants of its large cities should be turned out to make room for the Gothic host, but "to turn rather to Dardania where there was

[a] Not. Orientis IX. The *Ulpianenses* and *Mer(i)enses* are also mentioned; the names of which connect them with the Dardanian towns of Ulpiana and Merion.

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land in plenty besides that already inhabited, both fair and fertile, but lacking both inhabitants and cultivation."[a] The Ostrogoths turned towards Italy and the Dardanian wastes were left awhile without barbarian tillers. To the last, however, the old Dardanian capital maintained its supremacy both lay and spiritual, and the Church of Scupi continued with other Dardanian Churches to play its part in the ecclesiastical disputes of the time. The Roman element in Dardania seems at this time to have headed the conservative reaction of the Latin-speaking parts of the Illyrian peninsula against the semi-Greek administration of Byzantium, and the Dardanian Bishops on more than one occasion won praise from the representatives of St. Peter for their loyal adherence to Western orthodoxy and the See of Rome. In 492 the "Catholic" Dardanian Bishops, and at their head Johannes, "Bishop of the most sacred Metropolitan Church of Scupi,[b] addressed a letter in this sense to Pope Gelasius, and were complimented by the Pope in return;[c] while in 516 Pope Hormisdas in his letter to Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, expresses his joy that the Dardanian and other Illyrian churches sought bishops of his nomination.[d] The "Illyrician" soldiers took the same side, and in the revolt of the Mœsian rebel Vitalianus, against the Emperor Anastasius, the "Catholic soldiery" of Serdica and Pautalia were conspicuous for their fidelity to the Latin cause.[e] Meanwhile, however, though barbarian colonists had not yet settled down *en masse* to till the waste-lands of Dardania, barbarian marauders continued the work of devastation, and a more awful natural catastrophe was impending over the devoted land. The Illyrian chronicler, Marcellinus Comes,[f] writing of the earthquake which in 518 destroyed so many Dardanian cities and strongholds,[g] mentions that the inhabitants of Scupi owed their escape from entombment in the ruins to the fact that they were then in the act of flying from their city owing to the scare of some barbarian invasion. The walls of Scupi, as we see from this last incident, had already ceased to be a protection to the citizens; the whole town was now reduced by the earthquake to a heap of ruins.

[a] *Excerpta e Malchi Historia.* (Ed. Bonn, p. 255).

[b] "Johannes Episcopus Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Scopinæ, Metropolitanæ." Mansi. viii. 13.

[c] "Gelasius Episcopis per Dardaniam sive per Illyricum constitutis . . . . . Audientes orthodoxam vestræ dilectionis in Christo constantiam." Mansi viii. 46.

[d] Mansi viii. 408.

[e] Marcellinus Comes, *in Chron:* Anastasius was constrained to send back the Bishops of Naissus and Pautalia, *ob metum Illyriciani Catholici militis.* Prof. Tomaschek rightly, I think, connects the *Roman* and Italian sympathies of the Illyrian church and army with the prevalence of the Latin tongue in the interior of the peninsula.

[f] In Chron. *sub anno.*

[g] See p. 89.

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The old Scupi was thus destroyed, but the historic continuity of the Dardanian Metropolis lived on, and it is to this period that we must refer its migration from the old site to the new. The old position of Scupi with its broad plain and the undulating hill of the upper city answered to the possibilities of a civilised age. The original Illyrian watch-station on the height of Zlokučani had been merged in the ampler city of the plain below by a race whose engineering capacities had enabled them to trust to artificial bulwarks. But the character of the times had changed once more. Throughout Illyricum the age of castle building had begun, and strong natural positions, the peak and the promontory, were sought once more for civic foundations. It was natural that those who, about Justinian's time, rebuilt the ancient city—and we have historic evidence that it was at this period that the need for its complete reconstruction first arose—should give the preference to a loftier and more defensible position than was the original site of the Roman town. And such a position was supplied in the actual vicinity of the ancient site by the more craggy height rising sheer above the Vardar, the height still capped by the Byzantine Akropolis of the modern Skopia.

There are strong grounds, I say, for assuming that this municipal migration should be referred to the period succeeding the great overthrow of 518. Nine years after that event Justinian succeeded to the Empire, and there is thus an overwhelming *a priori* presumption that the rebuilding of Scupi, at least as a military bulwark, must connect itself with the general reconstruction and restoration of his provincial towns and fortresses by the great Illyrian Emperor. We thus approach the question—Was this the chosen City of the Emperor himself? Was this the City of the land of his birth which Justinian not only restored and embellished, but made the capital, both civil and ecclesiastical, of his reconstituted Illyricum, and named after himself *Justiniana Prima?*

As the whole question has lately been reopened it will be well to review the literary sources at our disposal. Procopius tells us that, "amongst the Dardanians who dwell beyond the borders of the Epidamnians, very near the castle called Bederiane, is the district named Tauresium, from which the Emperor Justinian, the re-founder of the Roman world, drew his origin. Here the Emperor erected a small quadrangular castle with a tower at each angle, from which it was called "Tetrapyrgia," and near it he built a most glorious City, which he called Justiniana Prima ("Prima" means "first" in the Latin language), thus offering maintenance to his nursing mother.[a]" Procopius further tells us that he made an

[a] *De Æd.* iv. 1. "ἐν Δαρδάνοις που τοῖς Εὐρωπαιοῖς, οἳ δὴ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐπιδαμνίων ὅρους ᾤκηνται, τοῦ φρουρίου ἄγχιστα ὅπερ Βεδεριανὰ ἐπικαλεῖται, χωρίον Ταυρήσιον ὄνομα ἦν, ἔνθεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκιστὴς

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aqueduct there to supply the town with a perennial stream, and that he wrought many things that reflect glory and renown upon its founder. "It would not be easy," he continues, "to enumerate the the temples of the Gods, the palaces of the magistrates, the size of the porticoes, the beauty of the market-places, the fountains, streets, baths, and bazaars. In a word it is a great and populous City, in every respect prosperous and worthy to be the Metropolis of all that region. And such a dignity it has in fact attained. It is, moreover, the seat of the Archbishop of the Illyrians, and has precedence of the other cities in this as well as its size."

Procopius, it will be seen, places Justiniana Prima in Dardania, and had we only his authority to deal with, there could be no reasonable gronnd for refusing to accept the identification of Skopia with Justinian's new foundation. In his own "Novella" of 535 A.D., however, defining the jurisdiction of the new Illyrian Archbishop,[a] Justinian himself distinctly indicates that *Justiniana Prima* lay within the limits of Dacia Mediterranea, and as clearly shows that he regarded himself to be of Dacian origin. On the other hand, it might be urged that Procopius, whose antiquarian phraseology is noteworthy in this passage,[b] would have the authority of Ptolemy for including Naissus, itself one of the principal cities of the later Dacia Mediterranea, within the Dardanian limits.[c] This connexion of Justiniana Prima with Dacia Mediterranea suggests a real difficulty, and the claims of Skopia have recently received another blow. Professor Tomaschek, of Gratz, to whose painstaking researches into the ancient topography of the peninsula all students,

ὥρμηται. Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ χωρίον ἐν βραχεῖ τειχισάμενος κατὰ τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα καὶ γωνίᾳ ἑκάστῃ πύργον ἐνθέμενος Τετραπυργίαν εἶναί τε καὶ καλεῖσθαι πεποιήκε. Παρ' αὐτὸ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἰδείματο, ἥνπερ Ἰουστινιανὴν ὠνόμασε πρίμαν (πρώτη δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται) ταῦτα τῇ θρεψαμένῃ τροφεῖα ἑκτίνων."

[a] *Novella Constit.* ii. "Multis et variis modis nostram patriam augere cupientes, in qua primo Deus præstitit nobis ad hunc mundum, quem ipse condidit, venire, et circa Sacerdotalem censuram eam volumus maximis incrementis ampliare, ut Primæ Justinianæ patriæ nostræ pro tempore sacrosanctus Antistes non solum Metropolitanus sed etiam Archiepiscopus fiat, et cæteræ provinciæ sub ejus sint auctoritate, id est tam *ipsa Dacia Mediterranea* quam Dacia ripensis necnon Mysia Secunda, Dardania et Prævalitana Provincia et secunda Macedonia et pars secundæ etiam Pannoniæ quæ in Bacensi est civitate" . . . . . necessarium duximus ipsam gloriosissimam Præfecturam, quæ in Pannonia erat, *in nostra felicissima patria* collocare cum nihil quidem magni distat a *Dacia Mediterranea* Secunda Pannonia." So too in *Nov.* 131 Dacia is placed first amongst the provinces under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Justinian's father-land.

[b] As for example, when he speaks of the "European" Dardanians, and of their living above the "Epidamnians." The name of Epidamnos had long given way to that of Dyrrhachium.

[c] Ptol. *Geogr.*

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however much they may differ from his conclusions, must acknowledge their indebtedness, has pointed out[a] that in the fragment of *John of Antioch*, published by Mommsen, in 1872,[b] Justinus, the future Emperor, is mentioned as coming from Bederianon, a 'phrourion,' or castle, in the neighbourhood of Naissus.[c]

This passage Prof. Tomaschek regards as conclusive[d]; but unfortunately it settles nothing. The difficulties which must suggest themselves to all who regard the matter from a large historical standpoint are rather increased than diminished. Justinian's new capital of Illyricum could have been no mushroom growth. Its populousness, its commerce, its administrative importance, all point to the fact that Procopius is only disguising the truth when he makes it an entirely new creation of the Emperor. If Skopia is not to be identified with Justiniana Prima, Mannert's demands still remain unanswered. "How otherwise," he asks,[e] "is it possible that Procopius, or anyone else, while describing the Emperor's restorations in the smallest and most unknown Dardanian towns, should have passed over in obstinate silence the City which up to this moment had been the capital of the country?" The old identification of Justiniana Prima with Ochrida, the ancient Lychnidus, dates no further back than the thirteenth century, and was due to the desire of the auto-kephalous Bulgarian Archbishops of that See to profit by Justinian's *Novella*. Moreover, as will be seen, the early Byzantine and Bulgarian official style of these Archbishops, though it couples the two names of Justiniana Prima and Ochrida expressly refrains from asserting their identity.[f] The attempt, followed by Gibbon, to identify Justinian's City with Küstendil, or Gjustendil, simply arose out of a false etymology. The name of Küstendil, in fact, only originated in the fifteenth century, from the name of a local despot, Constantine.[g]

[a] W. Tomaschek, *Miscellen aus der alten Geographie* in Zeitschrift für die Oesterreichischen Gymnasien 1874, p. 659.

[b] Hermes, B. vi. p. 323 *seqq.*

[c] "Ἰουστῖνος ἐκ Βεδεριανοῦ φρουρίου πλησιάζοντος Ναΐσσῳ" *op. cit.* p. 339. Justin was assisting the Emperor Anastasius against the Isaurian rebels in the capacity of *Hypostratêgos*.

[d] "Die Sache ist entschieden." As to the opinion—supported by weighty arguments by Mannert, Hahn, and Tozer—that Scupi and Justiniana Prima were identical, Prof. Tomaschek thinks it not worth the trouble of refuting. "Diese Meinung zu wiederlegen verlohnt sich nicht der Mühe." *Miscellen. &c.* p. 658.

[e] *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, vii. p. 105 (Landshut). Mannert, however, had not observed the difficulty raised by Justinian's attribution of this city to Dacia Mediterranea.

[f] See p. 143.

[g] "Gospodin" Konstantin, Lord of Northern Macedonia († 1394), well-known in Serbian epic as the friend of Marko Kraljević. In 1500 the territory formerly held by him was still known as

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Its mediæval name was Velebužd, and it occupies the site of the ancient Pautalia, which, as a bishopric, is expressly distinguished from Justiniana Prima. Nor can we see in Justiniana Prima another name for Naissus, since the restoration of Naissus, or, as he calls it, Naissopolis, is specially mentioned by Procopius, after his account of the creation of Justiniana Prima and as a separate act of the Emperor, and the bishopric of Naissus is found under the supremacy of the Bishop of Justinian's City.

On the other hand, it seems to me that there is traceable in Procopius' account certain internal evidence of probability. According to Procopius, Justinian coupled his foundation of his new Illyrian capital with the restoration of Ulpiana, another ancient Dardanian city, to the remains of which I have already alluded in the preceding paper,[a] which he called Justiniana Secunda. Now the relation of Justiniana Prima to Justiniana Secunda, to a great extent, reproduces the relation already existing between Scupi and Ulpiana. If Scupi, as we have seen, was the old Dardanian Metropolis, Ulpiana appears to have ranked nearest to it amongst the provincial cities. But Procopius informs us of a further fact. In the neighbourhood of Ulpiana—or, as it was now called, Justiniana Secunda—the Emperor built another city, which he called Justinopolis, in honour of his uncle Justinus. Now, if Justinus had not been born in a Dardanian district,[b] it is hard to see why his nephew should build a town in his honour in that province, as is proved from its vicinity to Ulpiana. But Justinus, as we learn from the fragment of John of Antioch, was connected with Bederiana. Hence it appears that the words πλησιάζοντος τῷ Ναΐσσῳ must, after all, be taken in a vague, general sense, and as not excluding the possibility that this "phrourion" was situate on Dardanian soil in the narrower sense of the word.

The permanence of the name of Scupi, Scopi, or in its Byzantine form Skopia, in spite of its official substitute, again receives an illustration from the case of Ulpiana. Even during the reign of Justinian himself we find, as I have already shown, the names Justiniana Secunda and Ulpiana used indifferently in official acts relating to the same bishop. On the other hand, the fact that no Bishop of Scupi is mentioned at this time, while the title of Bishop of Justiniana

Zemlja Konstantinova. In 1559 his City of Velebužd or Banja (this latter name derived from its hot-baths) appears in an Italian *Itinerario* as "Constantin-bagno." Küstendil is simply the Turkish form of Konstantin. See Jireček, *Gesch. d. Bulgaren.* p. 333.

[a] See p. 58.

[b] He was of course of *Thracian* descent.

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Prima appears on more than one occasion towards the end of the sixth century, may show that for awhile at least the more imperial name eclipsed the older, and what was doubtless still the popular form. Iu the fifth century we find a special connexion between the Bishops of Dardania and the Bishop of the South-Eastern-most Dalmatian (Prævalitanė), diocese of Doclea or Doclitia. The Bishop of this Dalmatian town signs among the Dardanian Catholic Bishops in the letter addressed by them in 451 to the Emperor Leo. It is at least a noteworthy coincidence that the last mention of the Bishop of Justiniana Prima should occur in a letter addressed in 602 by Gregory the Great to Johannes, Bishop of Justinian's city, to be forwarded to him, should circumstances require his intervention, through the Bishop of Scodra, and relating to charges brought against a Bishop of Doclea.[a]

There remains however a still more conclusive argument which has been curiously overlooked by all those who have treated of this *vexata quæstio*, and which goes far to neutralise and explain the statement contained in Justinian's *Novella*, that Justiniana Prima lay in Dacia Mediterranea. It appears, namely, from the letter addressed in 492 by John, Metropolitan of Scupi, to Pope Gelasius, that in his quality of Bishop of the metropolitan city of Scopi, "*Episcopus*," as he styles himself, "*Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Scopinæ, Metropolitanæ Civitatis*," he claimed a supremacy not only over the Bishops of Dardania in its contemporary official sense but over other Bishops who sign beneath him, one of whom was Bonosus, Bishop of no less a place than Serdica, the capital of Dacia Mediterranea.[b] In view of this fact the letter addressed by Gregory the Great in 595 to Felix, Bishop of Serdica, enjoining him to obey his superior, and the Pope's vicar, Johannes, Bishop of Justiniana Prima, acquires a fresh significance. In 553 we find from the Acts of the Fifth Synod of Constantinople[c] that the Bishops of Naissus and Ulpiana had refused to attend and sided with Pope Vigilius, and when appealed to on the subject refer the synod to their Archbishop Benenatus. Both Farlato[d] and Le Quien[e]

[a] Mansi, x. 329. "De Paulo Docleatinæ Civitatis episcopo lapso." Justiniana Prima seems to be thus brought into a certain geographical connexion with Scodra (Scutari d'Albania), from which place as we have seen a line of Roman road led to the Dardanian City of Ulpiana (Justiniana II.), and thence to Scupi.

[b] Marius Mercator, in *Appendice ad Contradictionem 12 Anathetismi Nestoriani*, "Sardicensis Bonosus qui a Damaso urbis Romæ episcopo prædamnatus fuit:" Le Quien; *Oriens. Christianus*, t. ii. p. 302. Farlato *Ill. Sac.*, t. viii. p. 34, endeavours to make Bonosus Bishop of Naissus, but on no valid grounds. His statement would anyhow not affect the present argument, as Naissus was also in Dacia Mediterranea.

[c] Mansi, ix. p. 199.

[d] *Illyricum Sacrum*, t. viii. p. 17.

[e] *Oriens. Christianus*, t. ii. p. 310.

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are agreed that this Benenatus must have been bishop of Scupi, but they have both failed to grasp the logical deduction that the Archbishop of "the Most Holy Metropolitan City" of Scupi, as it appears before Justinian's time, has now become the Archbishop of his special city. The Primacy, then, of Illyricum was not an altogether new creation, but in part represented earlier claims of precedency exercised by the Bishops of Scupi. The language of Procopius and the language of the *Novellæ* are thus reconciled, and the special tie of allegiance which bound the Bishop of Justinian's city to the Bishop of Rome is seen to be in fact the direct inheritance from an earlier time when the Metropolitans of Scupi stood forth as the principal champions of Western orthodoxy in Illyricum.

When we find the Bishop of the Dardanian Metropolis taking precedency of Dacian Bishops at a time when, politically, Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea were separate provinces we are tempted to suspect that the ecclesiastical supremacy represents, as is so often the case, a survival of an earlier political distribution.

There is, in fact, clear historic evidence that, according to the original arrangement of Aurelian, Dardania was tacked on to Dacia Mediterranea, insomuch that in the early lists of the provinces of the Mœsian diocese, as given by the MS. of Verona, Rufus, and Polemius Silvius, Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea are given indifferently as the names of one and the same province. At some time after the completion of the list of Polemius Silvius and before that of the *Notitia*[a] the province which bore the double name of Dardania and Dacia Mediterranea was divided into the two provinces of Dardania, as we find it in Hierocles, with Scupi as its Metropolis, and Dacia Mediterranea under Serdica. But it is obvious from this that there may have been a time when, as the later ecclesiastical arrangement indicates, Scupi was the political Metropolis of a Dacia Mediterranea which included the later Dardania.

In the *Notitia*[b] itself, indeed, Dardania continues to be reckoned along with Dacia Mediterranea and Ripensis, Moesia Prima, Prævalitana, and a part of Macedonia Salutaris as one of the "Five Dacias" which had now replaced the "Three Dacias" of the original Trans-Danubian province. There is, indeed, evidence that in Justinian's time the name of Dacia could still be extended to the furthest limit of the provinces originally included in the "Five Dacias." Procopius on two separate occasions attributes to Dacia Singidunum, a city which according to

[a] See Mommsen, *Révue Archéologique*, N. S. xiv. p. 387. The words of Rufus in describing the formation of Aurelian's Dacia are: "*Per Aurelianum, translatis exinde Romanis, duæ Daciæ in regionibus Moesiæ et Dardaniæ factæ sunt.*"

[b] Not. Or. iii. 14.

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Hierocles' list was included in Upper Mœsia, and what in this respect is true of Upper Mœsian cities, applies equally to the cities of the once "Dacian" Dardania. Dacia was the more renowned name, and there was always a tendency to use it, the more so as at this period the actual provincial divisions were becoming vague and undefined.[a]

It must be allowed that the language of the *Novellæ* is inconsistent, yet it will be seen that, in placing Scupi in Dacia Mediterranea, Justinian was but reverting to an earlier arrangement, still apparently kept up by the existing ecclesiastical organisation. And the prestige of the Dacian name was still such that in raising what was now in strict official phraseology a Dardanian city to the chief place in his newly constituted Illyricum, it was convenient to revert to this earlier usage which attributed Scupi to Dacia Mediterranea. The Dacian hegemony could not be ignored in an Illyrian government, the geographical limits of which almost precisely answered to what was still known as the "Five Dacias." In Justinian's ecclesiastical arrangement indeed no change in official language was required, for Scupi, as we have seen, was still the recognised Metropolis of the whole of that original Mediterranean Dacia that had once politically embraced Dardania.

In the case of Justiniana Secunda we have seen that the old name of the city continued to be used concurrently with the official title, and finally in an altered form survived it. The same process undoubtedly occurred in the case of Justiniana Prima. Towards the end of the sixth century the name of Scupi, or "Scopis," as it is written in the language of the times[b] reappears in history, and Theophylact mentions that the town was plundered and many of its citizens taken captive by a Slavonic band.[c] It is probable that the town passed definitely into Slavonic hands about 695, in which year we find numerous refugees from the Dardanian cities taking refuge within the walls of Thessalonica.[d] Under the Bulgarian princes "Skopje,"

[a] D. B. Goth. ii. pp. 80, 418 (Bonn ed.).

[b] Compare Jornandes' *Sirmis, &c.* In Ravennas the form *Scupis* occurs, cf. *Londinis, &c.*

[c] *Hist.* vii. 2 (Bonn ed. p. 272). Τὰ γὰρ Ζαλδαπὰ καὶ Ἄκυς καὶ Σκόπις καταπρονομεύσαντες, &c.

[d] *Acta S. Demetrii*, c. ii. It is there mentioned as a chief cause of the second Slavonic onslaught on Thessalonica that that city sheltered escaped "mancipia" from the interior of Illyricum. One city only ought not to be allowed to hold out when all the other cities and provinces round had been made void of Roman habitation; "hæc autem" (to quote the Latin version) "sola superesset omnesque e Danubii partibus Paunoniaque et Dacia et Dardania reliquisque provinciis et urbibus transfugas reciperet atque in sinu suo foveret." The citizens of Naissus and Serdica are specially mentioned.

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as its name was known in its Slavonic form,[a] continued to be an important civil and ecclesiastical centre. The eleventh century Byzantine chroniclers[b] call it even the "Metropolis of Bulgaria," a title which conveys a hint as to the source whence the later auto-kephalous Bishops of Ochrida drew their style of "Bishops of Justiniana Prima."

Apart from this ecclesiastical and other evidence as to the identity of Scupi and Justiniana Prima, I have already called attention to two facts, arrived at by researches on the spot, which ought to weigh on the same side, against the confident assertions of Professor Tomaschek. I have shown, from a series of monuments, that the site of the Roman colony and later metropolitan city of Scupi is to be found in the immediate neighbourhood of the important Byzantine, Slavonic, and Turkish emporium of Skopia, or Usküp, with which its name is, in fact, identical,[c] and that to hunt for it in the Morava Valley would, therefore, be superfluous. I have further shown, that a direct line of Roman way through the pass of Kačanik brought Scupi into peculiarly intimate relation with the Dardanian sister-town of Ulpiana; in other words, with Justiniana Secunda. It remains to consider the existing Byzantine monuments of Skopia itself, and some important evidence connected with local names and sites in the neighbourhood.

Previous to his journey undertaken from Belgrade to Salonica, the attention of Von Hahn had been called by the Austrian Consul-General Mihanovich to the striking similarity of the names of Taor and Bader, two villages near Skopia, to the Tauresium and Bederiana mentioned by Procopius as native places of Justinian.[d] Owing to unfavourable weather, the snow lying then on the ground, Von Hahn had been unable during the course of his journey to follow up the inquiry

[a] Nikephoros Bryennios, iv. 18 (Bonn ed. p. 148), in the eleventh century still calls Skopia by its ancient name of Σκοῦποι and places it correctly on the Vardar as he tells us the Axios was then called.

[b] Skylitzes and his copyist Kedrenos (Bonn ed. ii. 527). The revolted Bulgarian Prince, Peter Deljan, marches "διὰ τε Ναϊσσοῦ καὶ τῶν Σκουπίων τῆς Μητροπόλεως Βουλγαρίας" (A.D. 1040). When Basil organised the Bulgarian Church in 1020 the Bishop of Skopia was assigned 40 Kleriki and 40 Πάροικοι, putting it on a level with the largest Bulgarian Sees (see Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 202).

[c] By the neighbouring Albanian tribes, the best local representatives of the Roman provincials, the town is still called "Scup."

[d] *Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 156. Tauresium might easily represent a *Vicus Taurensium*, pointing to some form with which Taor would connect itself. Neither Taor nor Bader appears to be of Slavonic origin. As a set-off to this, Prof. Tomaschek, who seeks his Justiniana Prima near Kuršumlje, has sought to connect the name of Tauresium with that of the village of Tovrljan in the Toplica district.

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with any definite results, but he had heard of some old foundations in the neighbourhood of Taor,[a] had been shown in the village a stone "postament," with what appeared to him to be a Slavonic inscription,[b] and had seen a copy of another Slavonic inscription from a neighbouring monastery, which, he was led to believe, contained a reference to Justinian as its founder.[c] On the strength of these observations of Von Hahn, and this striking similarity of names, I made it my special business to explore Bader, Taor, and the surrounding region. Both villages lie on the skirts of a mountainous triangle that lies between the Vardar and its tributary the Pčinja, near the confluence of the two rivers, and partially shut in by the sedgy lake of Jelatno. The starting-point of my explorations was Banja, in the Pčinja valley, the hot baths and ancient quarries of which I have already described, which, apparently, formed the thermal station marked on the Tabula of Peutinger as the first station on the Thessalonican road, twenty-one miles distant from Scupi.[d] The Roman way itself, in its southward course, must have proceeded from the neighbourhood of Banja, along the left bank of the Pčinja, which it would here cross, and the heights above it would be the natural position for a castle commanding the pass. At this point, in fact, are the ruins of a Turkish watch-tower, known as the Badersko Kaleh, which formerly commanded the road through the gorge; a road which certainly represents the Roman line. The name of this Kaleh is interesting, as showing that the name of Bader still clings to both banks of the river, and its function at least supplies a *raison d'être* for the former existence of a Byzantine "phrourion," such as was Bederiana, in its vicinity. Bader itself lies on the right bank of the stream, which is here easily fordable. The village is nothing more than a wretched group of Bulgar hovels enclosed in mud walls; indeed, its sole redeeming feature was a fountain erected by a pious Moslem dame, Fatima by name; its position, however, hanging on a steep above the "iron gates" of the stream, was certainly lovely. I was unable to observe any remains here of Roman date, though there was a Christian cemetery near it of some antiquity and considerable extent scattered about in an oak

[a] *Op. cit.* p. 157. "Hier war kein Platz für Prokop's Tetrapyrgion, doch erzählten die Bauern, dass sie beim Beackern der auf der Platte oberhalb der Dorfes gelegenen Felder auf Cementsubstructionen stiessen, und bejahten unsere Frage, ob diese ein Viereck bildeten, doch möchten wir durch diese Bejahung die Frage noch nicht als unwiderruflich entschieden betrachten. Die auf der Platte lagernde Schneedecke machte die Untersuchung derselben durch den Augenschein unmöglich." The peasants also spoke of a quadrangular tile conduit leading to these remains.

[b] *Op. cit.* p. 158.

[c] *Op. cit.* p. 162.

[d] See p. 110.

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wilderness. About an hour's walk higher up the lateral valley, at the opening of which Bader lies, is the village of Blače, where two Roman inscriptions were found by engineers engaged in quarrying operations in this neighbourhood, connected with the construction of the Macedonian line. In the little church here, I found one of these monuments, an altar with the comprehensive dedication: "To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno Regina, Minerva Sancta, and all the other Gods and Goddesses:"[a] erected by Aur. Titianus, a *Beneficiarius Consularis* of the 7th, Claudian, Legion, to which we have so often had occasion to refer, in the Consulship of Victorinus and Proculus, that is in the year 200 A.D. The other inscription was no longer to be found; but it is interesting, as referring to the serpent-worship introduced by Alexander, the prophet of Abonotichos, of whom Lucian has left us an account; and whose authority was, apparently, popular amongst the Dacians. I noticed one or two other fragments in the neighbourhood of the church of Blače, which seemed to be of Roman origin. From this village, which occupies a central and commanding position in this hilly tract, between the Pčinja and Vardar, a straight line of road, embanked in places, runs along the watershed almost due South, towards the village of Koslje, and the confluence of the two rivers. To this road I am certainly inclined to attribute a Roman origin.

In the Bulgarian monastery of St. John, which lies on the left steep of the Pčinja, near its confluence, I saw a Slavonic inscription, a copy of which Von Hahn had been shown at Velese, and which he supposed to contain a reference to Justinian. It is painted in black letters in the inside of the little Byzantine church, above the doorway; but it did not by any means answer to Von Hahn's description. A few words were indecipherable, but the inscription, as a whole, is clear enough, and runs as follows:—

"This church was built from the foundation and painted within by the present labour and expense of the God-loving Bishop Kirioseph . . . . . from the Monastery of Zographu. In the time of the Patriarchate of the blessed and . . . . Lord and Bishop of the First Justiniana or Ochrida, the Lord Zozimos, and of the . . . . Sultan Mechmet. At that time Crete was taken. And the founders (Ktêtors) were from Rudnik,[b] Jovo, Neda, Nera, . . . ica, Prodanj, Stepanj, Vaso, Damčeta. In the year (1669)."

The mention of the capture of Crete enables us to supply the date, which was obliterated in the original.

[a] I . O . M . / IVNONI . REG . MIN / SANC . CETERIS QVE / DIIS DEABVSQVE / OMNIBVS . SACR M / AVR . TITIANVS . BF . / COS . LEG . VII . CL . / V . S . L . M

[b] A neighbouring village.

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It will be seen that this inscription does no more than record the official title of the auto-kephalous Bulgarian Bishops "of Justiniana and Ochrida," and does not, as Von Hahn was given to suppose, in any way connect the founding of the monastery with the Emperor Justinian.[a]

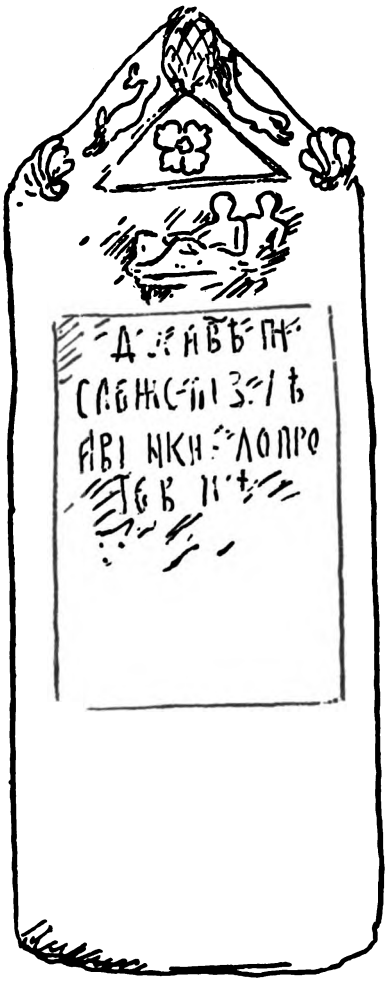


Fig. 89.

It is remarkable that the village of Taor stands, to the Vardar River Pass at its opening on the Plain of Üsküp, in much the same relation as Bader and the Badersko Kaleh stand to that of the Pčinja. The village itself lies in a beautiful wooded glen by the banks of the river, and a little above it is an old ferry across the stream to the village of Orezan. A few hundred yards to the north of Taor, at the foot of the undulating heights that here dominate the level expanse on which Skopia stands, is the little church of St. Ilija, about which were many Roman fragments, including shafts of columns, broken cornices, and a sepulchral slab with dolphins and a banqueting scene in the apex, but in the field below a Slav inscription, which has supplanted the original Roman *titulus* (fig. 89). Much might, no doubt, be made of this by the champions of Justinian's Slavonic origin were not the letters of mediæval form, certainly not earlier than the fourteenth century.

Within the church, and serving as an altar, is a block which is probably the "postament" described by Hahn.[b] It is simply an altar of Roman Imperial date turned upside down. The inscription in small letters was exceedingly illegible, but the letters that I was able to make out seemed to be rather Greek than Cyrillian (fig. 90).

[a] The translation of the inscription as given to Hahn (p. 162) was of a curious kind: "die Inschrift, . . . wenn mann sie uns richtig übersetzt hat, den Arzt eines türkischen Pascha's, welcher dessen Gattin von der Unfruchtbarkeit heilte, als den Wiederhersteller des von Justinian gegründeten Klosters nennt"(!)

[b] *Op. cit.* p. 158: "Leider stand das Postament auf dem Kopfe und ist die Inschrift so verwischt dass wir nur mit grosser Mühe einige roh gearbeitete slavische Charaktere erkennen konnten."

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I explored the neighbouring downs above the village for any ancient foundations in vain, till at last a Bulgar guided me to a terrace above the church of St. Ilija, which was literally strewn with Roman tiles and fragments of masonry, and surrounded by foundations of ancient walls of brick and rubble masonry. That this was a "phrourion" or "castellum" of late Roman date I cannot doubt. It had obviously more than four angles, but if, as I am inclined to suppose, the points A B C and D in the annexed plan (fig. 91)[a] were occupied

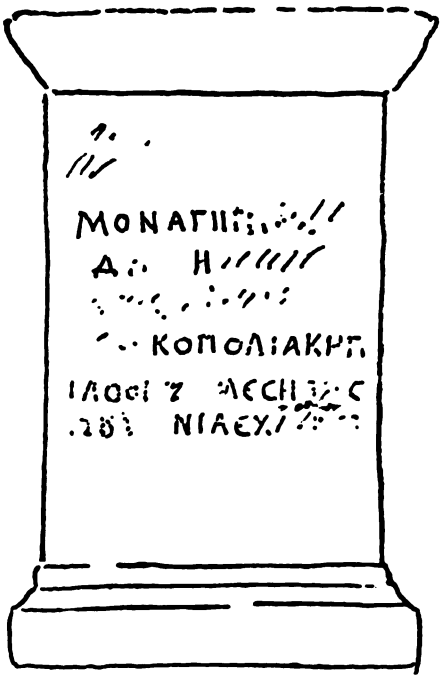


Fig. 90.

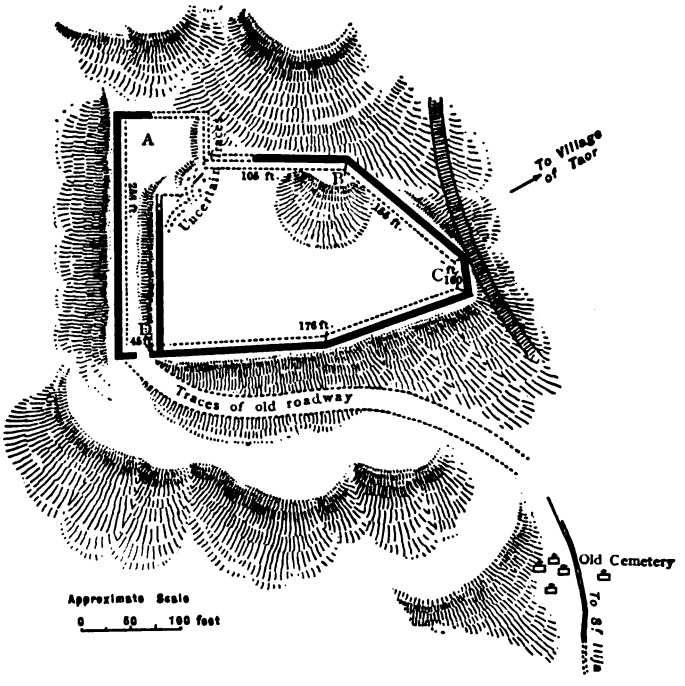


Fig. 91.

with towers, we should have before us a Tetrapyrgia not inconsistent with Procopius' description of the castle of Tauresium. In any case, the occurrence of such a castle on the spot where *ex hypothesi* we were led to look for Justinian's "phrourion" must be regarded as a remarkable coincidence.

Of the antiquity of this ruin there appears, indeed, to be one remarkable piece of documentary evidence. In a grant of the Bulgarian Czar, Constantine Asên

[a] The foundations about the corner A were very indistinct, and in order to ascertain the outline of this part of the *castellum* excavations would be necessary. The measurements given are approximate.

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(1258-1277) to the monastery of St. George, near Skopia, is mentioned the "Gradište," or ruined site of a castle, by the village of Tavor,[a] the later Taor, and the lake of Jelatno. "Gradište" is a term frequently applied by the Slaves to sites once occupied by Roman constructions.

Nor has the local saga forgotten this ruined site. From an intelligent Bulgar schoolmaster at Kučevište, in the Karadagh, I learnt one or two interesting popular traditions which bear upon the question at issue. He told me that old men of this district say that "Three Emperors were born at Skopia," and that there was a tradition that "Czar Kostadin" was born at Taor, and reigned afterwards at Skopia. It seems to me by no means impossible that the Emperor Constantine, as an ecclesiastical as well as political celebrity, has usurped Justinian's place in the folk-lore of the country.

We may now turn to an examination of the Byzantine antiquities of Skopia itself. That the original walls of the Akropolis are of Byzantine date appears from an inscription in large tilework letters on the upper part of the inner wall to the left of the main entrance. This inscription in its present state is extremely difficult to decipher. I was able, however, to make out a few fragments, sufficient to show its Byzantine origin—

ΚΛΗϹ

[Η ΝϵΑΝ///ΜΗ | ÀΝΘΡϢΠϹ////] [ΛϹ ΗΓÈΙϹ ΔÈ ΤΙϹ ĬΓϵ]

The impression given by these fragments is that they formed part of a Byzantine inscription of the usual bombastic style, examples of which are to be seen in the inscription recording the erection of a tower at Durazzo by Theodore Ducas Comnênos,[b] and in another, written in large characters of the same ceramic construction on the outside of the old cathedral-church of Hagia Sophia, at Ochrida.[c] The walls themselves of the Akropolis are in their older portion formed of large square stones, framed, as it were, with tiles; a Byzantine form of construc-

[a] "Selo Tavor, gradište . . . . s jezerom Jelatnim." (Šafařík. *Památky* 25; quoted in Jireček *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, p. 79.

[b] Given in Hahn: *Albanesische Studien*, p. 122. When I saw this inscription, it was broken into two fragments and used as a support for the wooden post of a verandah in the Turkish Governor's Konak.

[c] Hahn. *Drin und Vardar-Reise*, p. 115. The name of the prelate in whose honour the inscription (of colossal size) was put up has disappeared, but we are told:

"*σκηνὴν ἐγείρας τὸν θεόφανον νόμον*
ἴθνη τὰ Μυσῶν ἐκδιδάσκει πανσόφως."

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tion, of which a good example may be seen in the great tenth century church of St. Luke's, at Styri, in Greece, and of which there are many later examples amongst the Slavonic buildings of Skopia and the surrounding regions.[a]

The first impression which the town of Skopia makes upon the stranger, is that he has before him in an almost perfect state of preservation a Byzantine city. In wandering amongst the moss-grown domes of the hamams, the ancient brick and stone-work bazaars, the noble caravanserais of which the famous Kurshumli Han[b] or Lead Han is the type (fig. 92), one is tempted to recognise the very baths

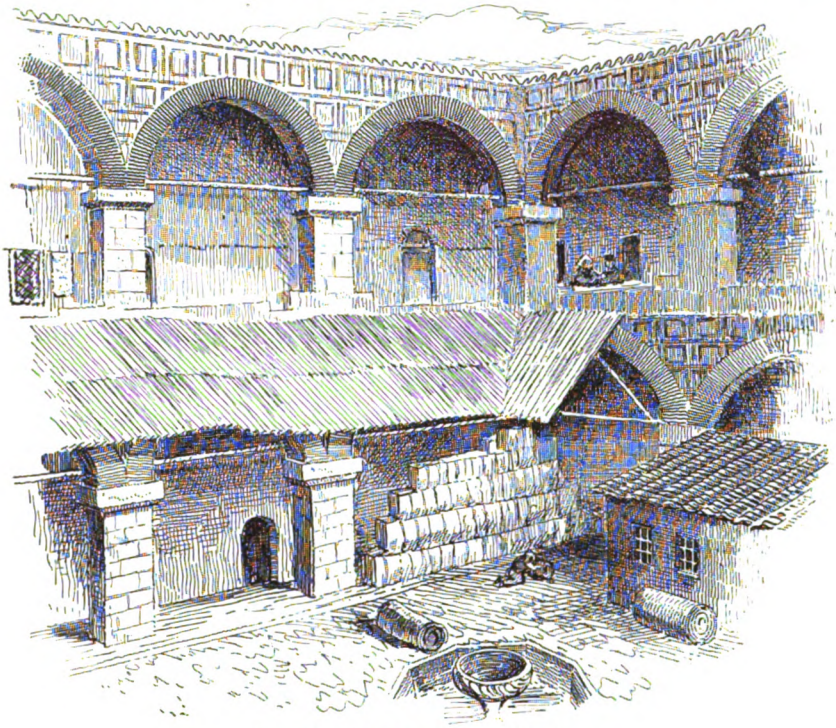


Fig. 92. Kurshumli Han, Skopia.

and market-halls with which Justinian embellished his favoured city. A more detailed study, however, shows that many of these antique edifices, Byzantine as is their style and appearance, are really of Turkish origin, and date from the first

[a] The beginnings of this form of construction may be traced in the walls of the Imperial Palace at Trier.

[b] This Han has been well-described by Mr. Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 367. The Sulei Han is another edifice of considerable antiquity. In the Fererli Han are said to be concealed inscriptions. These buildings at present afford lodgings and warehouses for merchants. On the piers of the Kurshumli Han many names of old Ragusan merchants are to be seen painted in red letters, e. g. "ANNO DOMINI 1777 MARINVS ZAMAGNA POST BREVEM MORAM . . . . . ." I also noticed the names of Lucich and Radegla. On the outside wall of the Han is a Turkish inscription.

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days of the conquest, when a large Osmanli colony was planted in the town, and Moslem Üsküp arose to be the "bride of Rumili."

The mosques supply a standpoint for comparison. Thus, after a prolonged study of the Kurshumli Han, I was inclined to ascribe to it a Byzantine origin, till a minute examination of a small mosque opposite it assured me that both were the work of the same hands.[a] The pillars of the arcade in the Han, and the abacus surmounting them, exactly answer to those of the porch of this mosque. In the same way baths, which externally look as ancient as that described near Novipazar, contain Arabic features in their interior construction and ornament. Thus, the great Hamam of Üsküp, which, with its low octagon capped with a roofed cupola, externally much resembles the old octagonal thermal chamber near Novipazar, presents internally an entirely Oriental appearance, with ogival arches and corner niches or alcoves, with rows of angular excrescences, which, when sufficiently projecting, give them somewhat the appearance of stalactitic grottoes. On the other hand, the mere insertion of a Turkish inscription into the outside wall of a building does not necessarily prove that it was the work of the Turkish dignitary thus honoured, and some of the buildings, especially in the North-East quarter of the town, may well date from præ-Turkish and even præ-Slavonic times. Of these, the most ancient in appearance is unquestionably the ruined Hamam of "the two Sisters." Two sisters, according to local tradition, daughters of a king, were taken by a pasha to wife. He died, leaving them childless, and the widows built the Hamam. It is built—like so many Byzantine buildings of this district—of square blocks of stone encased with tiles, but in the present instance, many of the blocks are, as already mentioned,[b] wrought out of Roman sepulchral monuments. Nothing seems more difficult than to determine the age of buildings built in the same Byzantine style before and after the Turkish conquest. But the existence of so many ancient buildings in the same style at Skopia itself, and amongst the monasteries of the surrounding ranges, is itself sufficient proof of the strength of the local Byzantine tradition. In no other town in the central districts of the Balkan Peninsula is the living impress of New Rome so strong as here. Indirectly, if not directly, the hand of Justinian is still felt in what I, for my part, shall not scruple to call his native city. The numismatic evidence as to the importance of Skopia in the fifth, sixth, and succeeding centuries is not less strking. In the bazars of the town, in addition to coins of Macedonian, consular, and early imperial date—and amongst them

[a] The Turks attribute the construction of the Kuršumli Han to a certain Mahmoud Pasha.

[b] P. 101.

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autonomous pieces of Thessalonica, Stobi, Pautalia, and Viminacium, illustrating the old commercial connexion with those places—I observed an abundance of coins of Anastasius, Justin, and Justinian, besides others dating from later Byzantine, Bulgarian, and Serbian times. Cnriously enough, the parting keepsake given me by my host at Üsküp was a large brass coin of Justinian himself.

The Aqueduct of Skopia is visible about an hour distant from the city to the North. There are fifty-four brickwork arches, supported on piers of alternating stone and brick, spanning a small valley connecting one of the lower undulations which roll across the plain from the foot of the Karadagh with the range of hills on which the akropolis of Skopia stands. From this spot it runs, as an underground channel, in a North-Easterly direction to the village of Gluha, which lies in a wooded and well-watered glen of the Karadagh range. The source is covered and preserved from possible contamination by a low, square, stone-tiled building of rubble masonry, which cannot pretend to any vast antiquity. The spring itself is known to the villagers as "Lavovac." In the Skopia direction the channel is again lost beneath the surface, and comes out finally near the noble Mustafa Mosque (which rises above the town not far from the entrance to the fortress), where its first function is to supply the fountain that embellishes the court of the mosque. In surveying the arches of this Aqueduct as they span the valley—so Byzantine in their general effect—the traveller is again tempted to imagine that he sees before him the actual handiwork of Justinian, and that this is the very Aqueduct by which the Emperor, according to Procopius, conducted a perennial stream to his native city. In this case again, however, a closer study has led me to modify this opinion. Though several ancient fragments,—including, besides that containing a part of the titles of Severus, a portion of a Roman sarcophagus and an Ionic capital, not improbably of Byzantine date,—have been walled into the fabric, the general appearance of the work and the character of its preservation is not such as to warrant the belief that in its present state at least it dates from Justinian's time. There is no single feature in the construction which is not reproduced in mosques, hamams, and hans of Turkish date in Skopia, while the ogival character of many of the arches, which may be gathered from my sketch (fig. 93), is certainly not inconsistent with a late origin; though not, perhaps, conclusive, as such pointed arches do occasionally occur in undoubtedly Roman aqueducts.[a] On the whole, therefore, I am reduced to suppose that the upper part, at least, of the Aqueduct in its present state represents the recon-

[a] For pointed arches in the Aqueduct of Segovia, built in Trajan's time, see *Archaeologia*, vol. IV. page 410, note.

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struction in Turkish times of a pre-existing Byzantine work. The local traditions that I am able to gather thoroughly support this view. The prevalent tradition

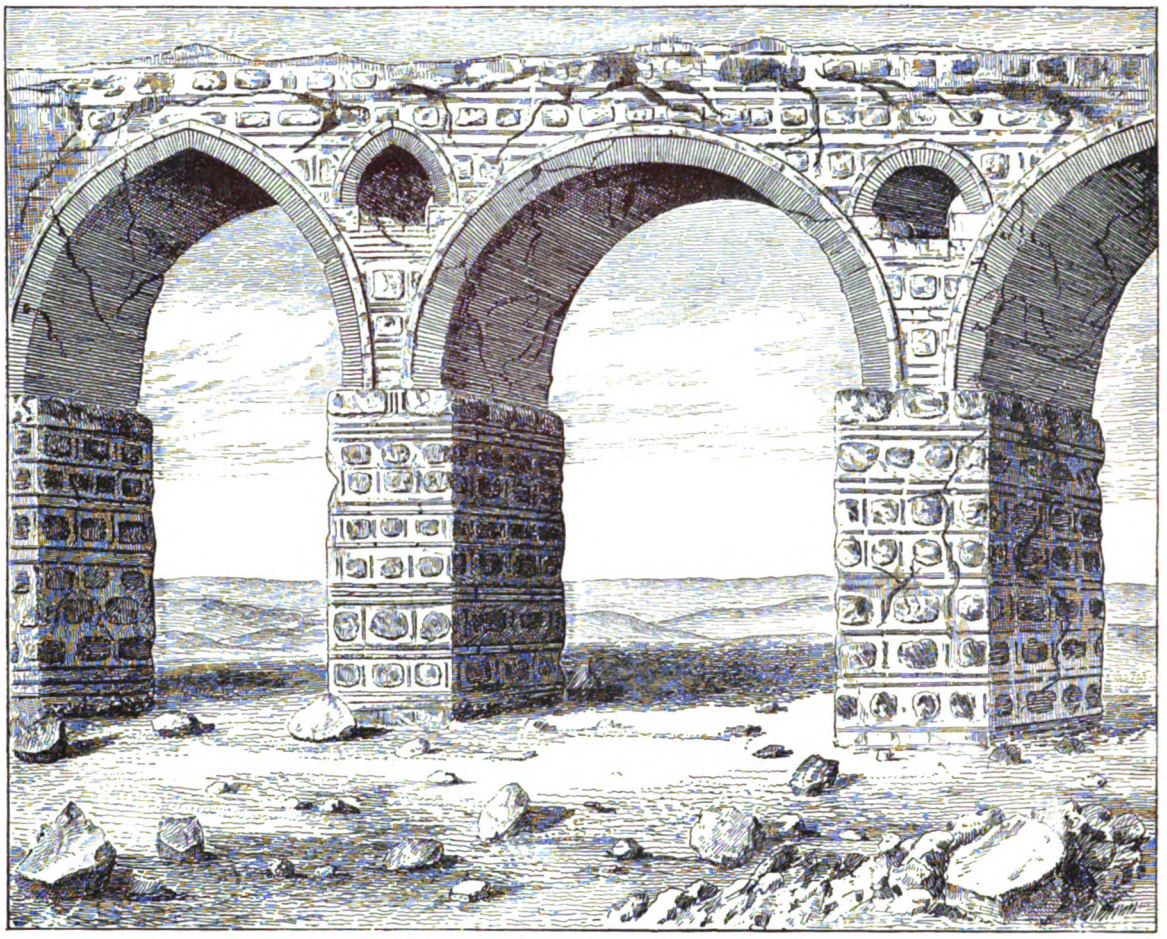


Fig. 93. The Aqueduct of Skopia

amongst Christians, as well as Turks, is, that the Aqueduct was a pious work of the same Musta or Mustafa Pasha who built the mosque, which, as we have seen, was its first goal, in Skopia.[a] On the other hand, I also came upon traces, and

[a] An older Christian tradition regarding the aqueduct is, however, mentioned in the relation of the Ragusan ambassadors who passed through Üsküp in 1792. "Nella vicinanza di Uschiup videro un antico acquedotto mezzo rovinato volgarmente detto Gerina Ciupria, cioè Ponte di Jerina moglie di Giorgio Despot, per che da lei fabricato acquedotto fatto a forza di archi molto simile a quello di Pisa." Jerina or Irene, wife of the Serbian despot George Brankovich, is popularly credited with many buildings throughout those countries. The description "mezzo rovinato" is interesting as showing that some restoration of the work must have taken place since the end of the last century.

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that from an unexpected quarter, of a saga, which points to the existence of the Aqueduct in some form in much more remote times. Whilst examining the

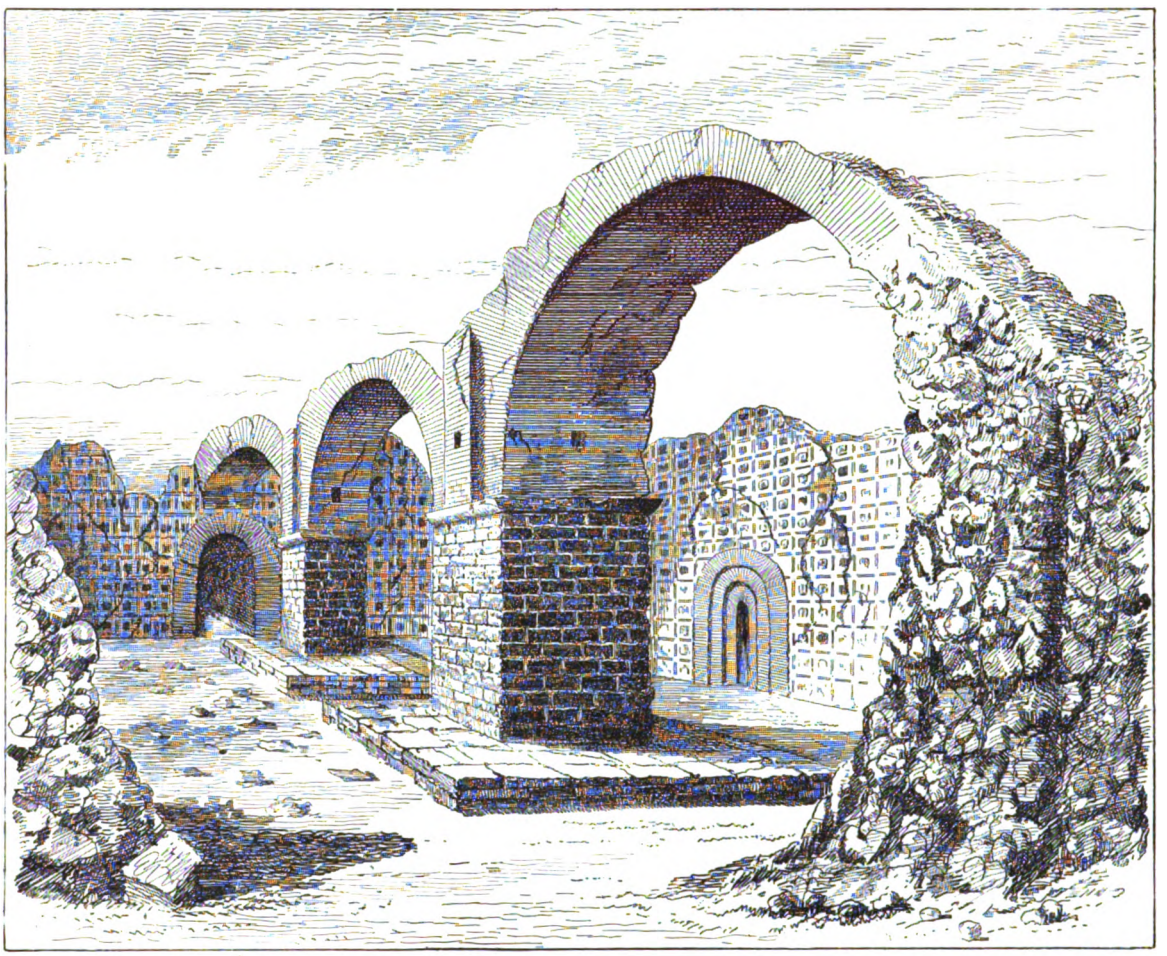


Fig. 54. Arches in the old Bezestan, Skopia.

milliary column which exists in a street of Skopia, I read out the name of Trajan to a group of enquiring Turks who were collected round me whereupon one of, the most venerable of the number, old Abderrahman Aga, at once exclaimed, "Trojan,—Kapetan Trojan! Why, he it was who built the Aqueduct." The name of the great engineering Emperor, who bridled the Danube and conquered Dacia, still lives in the folk-lore of the Peninsula; and in this instance "Kapetan Trojan" appears to have appropriated Justinian's work, in the same way as we have seen "Czar" Constantine usurp his birthplace.

I was fortunate enough to discover in Skopia itself something like a proof

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that the Aqueduct had once existed throughout its extent in an earlier form. Hearing of an old "Bezestan" or "cloth hall," at present closed (partly, indeed, in a state of demolition), and hidden from view by the surrounding booths of the bazar, with some difficulty I obtained access to it. What was my surprise to find the central court traversed by three large brickwork arches, supported by stone piers of well-cut masonry, surmounted by a well-executed cornice or abacus, and evidently representing a section of that part of the aqueduct which supplied the lower town of Skopia. The court itself had obviously been altered in later times, and holes for beams, supporting some later flooring or roof, had been knocked out of the sides of the central line of arches. That parts of the building, however, belonged to the same date as the fragment of the aqueduct which it included was obvious, from the fact that the arches coalesced with the structure of the walls at the two extremities of the court.

The construction of the piers and arches seemed to me in this case to be not earlier than late Roman times, and distinctly superior to that of the Aqueduct outside the city, one obvious defect of which is that the piers are too large for the brick arches they support. The old Bezestan itself, which forms in part at least an organic whole with this early work, is a good example of the style of blended stone and brick-work which at Skopia, as we have seen, survived Byzantine times. The walls of its central court contain small chambers, access to which is obtained by small round arched doors, and in the middle of each side of the court is an entrance arch of larger dimensions. The interior is at present cumbered with *débris* of brickwork, and the whole is threatened with speedy demolition. If we may be allowed to regard the central arches as a surviving relic of the actual fabric of Justinian's Aqueduct, we may venture to see in the ruined building which it traverses one of the very market halls with which, according to Procopius, the Emperor adorned his native City.

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NOTES ON THE ROMAN ROAD LINES FROM SCUPI TO NAISSUS AND REMESIANA.

In the Tabula Peutingeriana and the Geographer of Ravenna, there appears a line of road bringing Scupi into direct connexion with the historically better known city of Naissus, the birthplace of Constantine, and thus with the great central highway of Illyricum, the "*Agger Publicus*" that ran from Singidunum, the present Belgrade, past Serdica (Sophia) to Philippopolis, and eventually to Byzantium. Grave difficulties are suggested by the mileage and stations of this route, which itself falls into two parts:

1. A cross-line from Scupi to Hammeo, the Acmeon of Ravennas, a station twenty miles distant from Naissus on the military road already referred to,[a] which brought Naissus into communication with Ulpiana, and eventually with the Adriatic port of Lissus.

2. The section from Hammeo (or Acmeon) to Naissus common to the route Naissus-Ulpiana, and Naissus-Scupi.

In Ravennas we have nothing more than a confused list of cities. In the *Tabula* there is no intermediate station given between Scupi and Hammeo (Acmeon), which at the lowest computation must have been three days distant. It was this omission that led Professor Tomaschek, wrongly, as we have seen, to look for the site of Scupi itself in the valley of the Bulgarian Morava. We may be allowed to suspect that stations on the line Scupi-Hammeo have been erroneously transferred on the *Tabula* to the line Scupi-Stobi, where the chain of stations is too long. But the whole question is obscure and I shall here content myself with a few antiquarian observations made during a journey from Skopia to Nish (the ancient Naissus) some of which throw a certain amount of light on the course of the Roman road-line and the position of two at least of the principal stations.

The modern road that traverses the low Southern offshoots of the Karadagh to Kumanovo affords a certain guide to the earlier part of the Roman route from Scupi, in the Naissus direction. The physical configuration of the country and the interposition of the Karadagh ranges admit in fact of no alternative line in that part of the route.

[a] See p. 65 *seqq.*

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At Kumanovo, outside the orthodox church, was an altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus D(olichenus) erected by a certain Achilleus for the health of Caracalla and Julia Domna in the consulship of Sabinus and Anulinus,[a] A.D. 216.



Fig. 95

I was informed that this stone had been brought from the village of Lopod about an hour and a-half to the West of Kumanovo, where another inscription is said to exist near the mosque. At this place, therefore, rather than at Kumanovo itself, should be sought the first station on the Roman road from Scupi to Naissus. Above this village, on an eastern spur of the Karadagh, rises the noble Byzantine church of Matejci, near which I observed a Roman sepulchral slab with an illegible inscription.

The church itself, with its brickwork central tower, its four surrounding cupolas, and its triple apse, stands like some peak-castle of the Middle Ages on the summit of one of the beech-wood-covered spurs of the Black Mountain. Its position at an elevation of about 3,000 feet looking forth over the broad Kumanovo plain, and the distant Serbian and Bulgarian ranges is most commanding and may vie with that of the temple of Ægina. I found the monastery, such as it is, tenanted by a few Bulgar peasants, and the church itself, one of the noblest monu-

Iovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno
PRO SALVTE IMP. M. AVRELI / ANTONINI PII / AVG . ET IVLIAE / AVG MATRI KAST*rorum* / ACHILLEVS EORVN/DEM SERVVS POS*uit* / KAL . NOVEMBRIS / SABINO II ET ANV/LINO CON*sulibus*.

[a] This stone had been previously observed by Von Hahn (*Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, 239. C. I. L. iii. 1697). His observations were conducted, however, under most unfavourable climatic conditions, and his copy is inaccurate in every single line. He made out the dedication to be one to Mithra.

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ments of Eastern Rome in this region, far advanced on the road to total ruin. The great central cupola had fallen in, and the two massive columns on either side of the entrance were overthrown. Their capitals were very remarkable and recalled those of the church containing the Emperor Dušan's effigy at Ljubiten. The four angles of one were adorned with scallop foliage, two heads of bulls, and one of a ram; of the other with the same foliation, a ram's head, an eagle, and a kind of Ionic volute. In its ground plan, with its two side apses, and indeed in its spacious dimensions, twenty-eight paces long by seventeen broad, it differs from most of the churches hereabouts.

The inscriptions on the frescoes, with which the whole interior of the church had been covered, were in Greek. Of the wall-paintings themselves, which, in spite of the ruinous condition of the church, are in some places brilliantly preserved, the full-length image of the Theotokos and Child (to whom, according to the local tradition, the church was dedicated) to the East of the blocked-up southern entrance is amongst the most graceful. Over the door is a large representation of the Pantokratôr. To the left, entering the church, the whole of the second bay of the western wall is filled with a sacred genealogical tree, on the central stem of which I could read the names of David and Solomon; on either side of this the coiling foliage enclosed rows of prophets and patriarchs. To the right of the entrance the sacred tree is balanced by another, Imperial and Orthodox. Unfortunately, this is much effaced; but enough remained to show that it was a Byzantine counterpart of the tree of the Nemanjids in the royal Serbian church of Dečani:[a] the figures here were smaller and inferior to the Serbian, but, in other respects, much resembled them. One legend still remains, attached to a figure in the highest row but one of the tree,

ICAAKIOC BACIΛЄYC PωMЄωN,

to show that this was intended to represent the genealogical tree of the imperial house of the Komneni. In the South-East corner of the church are three more imperial full-length portraits: an Emperor, holding a roll in Byzantine fashion; an Empress, whose robes are elaborately ornamented with a fleur-de-lys pattern; and a younger Emperor; in this case again the style much recalling the representations of Dušan and his son and consort. In the centre of what is now the ruined body of

[a] About two hours distant from Kumanovo to the East, at Nagurić, is a splendid example of an old Serbian church, with an inscription recording its erection by King Miljutin, and frescoes within of the King and his consort Simonida. Like Dečani, it is evidently the work of a Dalmatian architect, and represents a compromise between Italian and Byzantine styles. I must however reserve its description for another occasion.

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the church, a later chapel has been erected for purposes of worship, and about one hundred yards below are ruins of another of smaller dimensions, with frescoes of a later date.

At Kumanovo itself I obtained several coins[a] and other antiquities, the bulk of which were said to have been found at Pršovo, a small town some three hours distant; and I had previously met an engineer who had been recently occupied with the construction of a road near this place, who informed me that, to his knowledge, three Roman inscriptions had been found there. To Pršovo I accordingly proceeded, following the western edge of the plain that skirts this side of the Karadagh. The little town itself consists of five or six hundred houses, of which only ten are Christian, and lies at the point where a tributary of the Morava issues from a winding gorge of the Black Mountain, and where, to the North-West, a pass leads across the range to Gilan, five hours distant. The inscriptions had, unfortunately, vanished; their disappearance but too probably connecting itself with the needs of road paving; but traces of Roman occupation were not wanting. The Kaimakam informed me that some children, playing in a field by the stream, had recently found several coins, one of which was brought me as a specimen. It proved to be a *denarius* of the Empress Faustina. From an intelligent Albanian guide, Mustafa by name, I learnt that on the height above the village there had formerly been a stone with a wolf, as he thought, sculptured on it, and an inscription. In the upper part of the glen he showed me a spot where ancient foundations and Roman tiles abounded; and informed me that many graves had been dug up here, ornaments being sometimes found with the remains. Above this spot were some curious niches with remains of frescoes, but these of mediæval Byzantine or Slavonic date, cut in the face of the cliff. The present population is Albanian, belonging to three "Fises"—"Plahač," "Sopā," and "Kilment" ("Clementi," as pronounced by my guide). From what I learned from him as to the local dialect, Roman or *Rouman* influence on the language must be here very marked, and I was much struck with his remark: "Albanian, Italian,[b]

[a] The coins included silver pieces of the Pæonian princes, Patraos and Audoleon, Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine. Pæonian coins seem more abundant in this district East of the Karadagh than in the immediate environs of Skopia. They are also abundant about Vranja in the upper valley of the Bulgarian Morava.

[b] Mustafa had picked up a little Italian from some workmen engaged on the new Serbian line. Amongst words in the local dialect which struck him as like Italian he instanced Szavle=Sand. (Cf. Ital. *Sabbia*, Rouman, *Sablu*), Plop or Plep=poplar (Ital. *Pioppo*, Macedo-Rouman Plop), Sielce=willow (Italian *Salice*, Macedo-Rouman *Salice* or *Salce*), Supra=above (It. Sopra, Rouman *Supra*, ordinary Albanian *Siper*), Ca'olli also Cavolli, horse (It. *Cavallo*, Rouman, *Callu*, ordinary Albanian *Colli* or *Calli*), &c.

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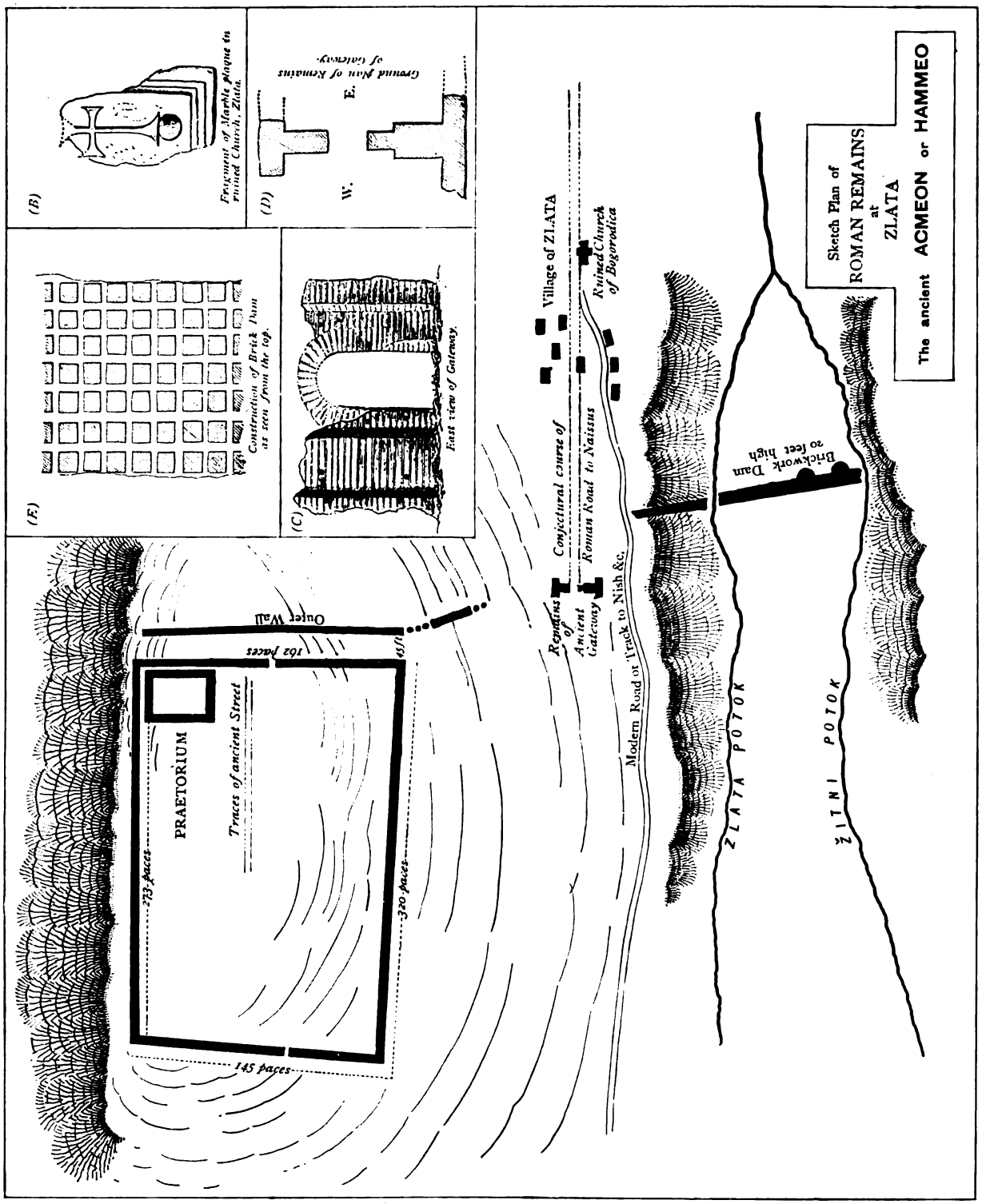
and Vlach are all the same." On the opposite side of the Golema is a village with the purely Rouman name, Pratosielce=Willow-mead, and Končul on the other side of the Morava has an equally Rouman sound.

The Roman remains at Pršovo—and, according to my guide, several inscriptions had been recently broken up here—seem to mark it as a considerable Station on the Roman road-line between Scupi and Naissus. Of the further course of the Way into the valley of the Bulgarian Morava, approached from this place by an easy descent, I could find no direct evidence. That the hot-baths of Vranja were known to the Romans is highly probable. In the neighbourhood of this town Roman coins are of frequent occurrence, and, from the coins of Pæonia and Damastion that I obtained here, it would certainly appear that this, the natural avenue of approach from the Ægean to the Danubian basin was frequented by traders in præ-Roman times.

At Leskovac, the only trace of Roman habitation that I observed was a large tile with part of a stamp beginning with E . . . but broken off, and some fragmentary capitals, on the site of an old church of St. Elias, now in course of restoration.

Whilst exploring the wild country that lies to the North of Leskovac—a part of the former Arnaontluk—till the Serbian occupation, almost inaccessible to strangers—I came upon some more important remains. I had learnt, from some of the natives, that at a spot called "Zlata," beyond the valley of the Pusta Rjeka, or Desert River, and about four hours ride from Leskovac, was an ancient bridge, or dam, by which, according to the local tradition, the waters of a stream had been diverted from the Turkish besiegers of a stronghold that rose beside it. The village of Zlata itself turned out to be a wretched group of straw-thatched hovels, near which however were the remains of an old church, dedicated, according to tradition, to the Bogorodica (Theotokos), amongst the ruins of which I found part of a marble slab, containing a relief of a cross on a globe of singularly Ravennate aspect (see sketch-plan B). At the West end of the village, on the slope of a hill which here rises above the stream, there were visible two high blocks of brick-work, which, on nearer inspection, proved to be parts of a Roman gateway (see sketch-plan C), a part of the spring of the arch, of narrow bricks, being visible on one side. It was, in fact, the city gate, on the Naissus side—the *Porta Naissitana*, of a considerable Roman Castrum, the plan of which can be best understood from the annexed sketch-plan. The outer wall of this Castrum climbs the hill above to the brink of a precipitous ravine to the North. This outer wall, the massive brick-work of which was still visible in places, stood in direct relation with the gateway. Beyond it, however, was what had been, in all probability, the original castrum, a

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ruined rectangle of the same brickwork, the approximate dimensions of which are given in my sketch-plan, the upper wall of which overlooked the Northern ravine. In the North-East corner of this were the remains of the oblong *Prætorium*,—colossal masses of brickwork and cement in boulder-like confusion. The *Prætorium* occupied what was the most level, and at the same time the most commanding, part of the area of circumvallation.

The most remarkable part, however, of this Roman civic settlement remains to be described. This was a huge brick wall running across a hollow watercourse a little below the remains of the gateway. This watercourse, which runs parallel to the lower or Southern wall of the Castrum, is formed by two brooks, known as the Zlata Potok and Žitni Potok, which flow into one another a little lower down the gully. The cross-wall itself is of extraordinary dimensions, gradually increasing from six to as nearly as possible twelve feet in thickness, and rising twenty feet above the bottom of the ravine. At one point it has been breached by the Zlata Potok, and it is not traceable beyond the second stream. It is composed of square flat bricks and cement, its upper surface presenting the appearance shown in fig. c.—a method of construction which recalls Trajan's bridge-head at Turn Severin and the walls of Serdica. On the Eastern face are visible two semi-circular turret-like projections, which evidently served as buttresses, one of which is entered by a round arch and contains a small domed chamber. On the other side, almost choked with rubbish and just above the present level of the soil, is seen the top of a small arch communicating with a hollow space, too full of fragments to admit of my entering it. It is here that an Arnaout is said to have found a heap of gold, which, however, the genius of the spot would not permit him to remove; and from this tale of treasure-trove this place is called "Zlata,"—the plural form of "Gold."

That this huge work, the colossal strength of which still impresses the spectator, was originally constructed to dam up the waters of the streams there can be no reasonable doubt. The natives called it "Stari Most" or the Old Bridge; but the tradition already referred to, that it was built to divert the water from below, contains a real kernel of truth. That it may have also served as a bridge is probable enough, but the primary purpose of its massive construction was to form a dam; and this fact accounts for its great thickness in the centre of the gully, where the pressure of the pent up waters would naturally be greatest. The Zlata brook has in fact only succeded in breaching it by attacking its wing, where the thickness of the wall is diminished by three or four feet, and where the support of the turret-buttresses is wanting. The practical object attained by this

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huge dam was also obvious enough. Its effect would be to secure a capacious reservoir of fresh water at a spot where, in summer, water is apt to be deficient. Both brooks were dry when I saw their channels in the month of July. A further proof of the connexion of the work with the water supply of the Roman town is to be found in a subterranean channel, now covered with earth and *débris*, leading from the Southern slope of the gully in the direction of the Castrum.

The Castrum itself lies on a promontory of a low range of hills, tending directly in the direction of Nish, and exactly on the line formerly taken by the Roman road from Naissus to Ulpiana, and eventually to Lissus. Its distance from the site of Naissus squares almost to a mile with that of the second station on this road, the HAMMEO, of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, set down there as twenty miles distant from Naissus and six from the intermediate station, AD HERCVLEM, the Castrum Herculis of Jordanes. Theodemir the Amalung, the father of Theodoric, must therefore have passed through this station on his way to Ulpiana, at the same time as he passed through the preceding station. The name of Hammeo appears in the Geographer of Ravenna, the only other authority who mentions it, as ACMEON, which must probably be taken as the preferable form, and the identification of its site is especially pertinent to our present subject, since it was at this point that the junction took place between the two Roman road-lines Scupi-Naissus and Ulpiana-Naissus.

The view from the Prætorium height is most commanding, and well brings out the relation of this Roman stronghold to the geography of the district. To the West rise the mountain mass of the Petrova Gora, dipping down to the left as if to indicate the pass formerly followed by the continuation of the Roman road to Ulpiana. On the other side of the same range runs an old road which still brings Zlata into connexion with Kuršumlje and the Toplica valley. The general impression of the scene, the oblong well-marked Castrum on the height, overlooking to the North a precipitous ravine, and looking forth on the wild highlands beyond, strangely recalled one of the Wall Chesters of Britain; and, considering the remains still extant above ground, an excavation would assuredly yield results not inferior to those obtained at Borcovicus or Cilurnum.[a]

[a] Since this account was written, I see that the ruins of Zlata are alluded to by Von Hahn (*Reise von Belgrad nach Salonik*, p. 55). On his way from Žitni Potok to Leskovac, he passed the ruins of "Slata"—the Albanian form of the Serb Zlata. He saw upon the hill the remains of an "Umfassungs-mauer" of hard burnt brick and firm cement, and speaks of the remains of a bridge on both sides of the brook, by which he certainly refers to the dam. Hahn apparently had no opportunity to explore the remains further, but he noticed their Roman appearance and rightly

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The antiquities of Naissus itself would deserve a separate investigation, and I must here content myself with a few passing observations. In his work on Danubian Bulgaria and the Balkan, Herr Kanitz has endeavoured to show that the actual site of Naissus was not to be sought, as had been hitherto believed, at Nish, the city which certainly preserves its name, but at the village of Brzibrod, three-quarters of a hour distant from Nish.[a] Here, on the left bank of the Nišava, Herr Kanitz discovered the remains of an ancient wall of circumvallation, and near it the foundations of an octagonal building, which was possibly a Christian baptistery. The identification of these remains with the ancient Naissus was however quite inconsistent with the position of that town on the right bank of the river as described in the recently discovered fragment of Priscus' history,[b] and the clearest evidence of the accuracy of Priscus' account is now to be seen in the

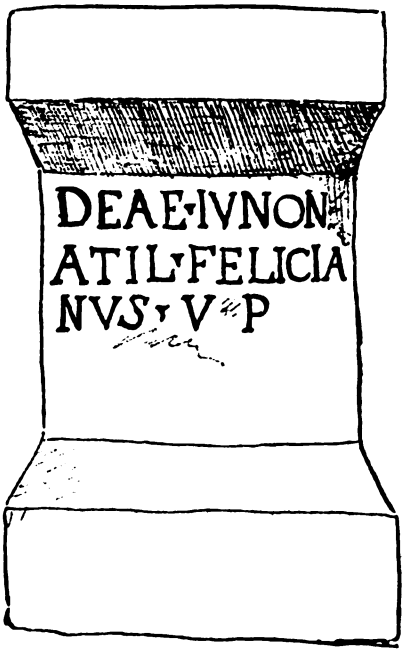


Fig. 96.

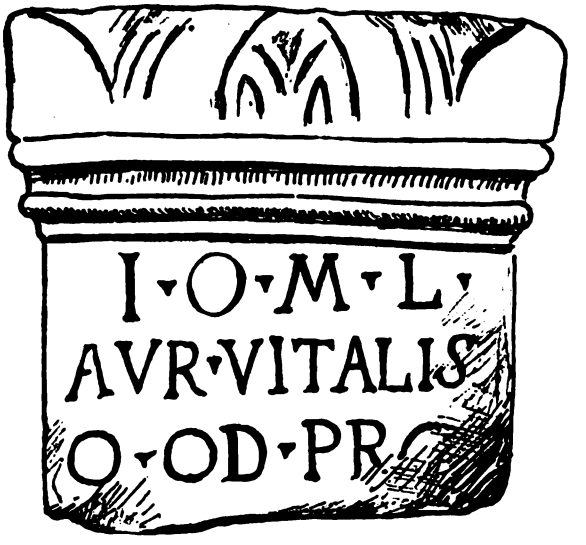


Fig. 97.

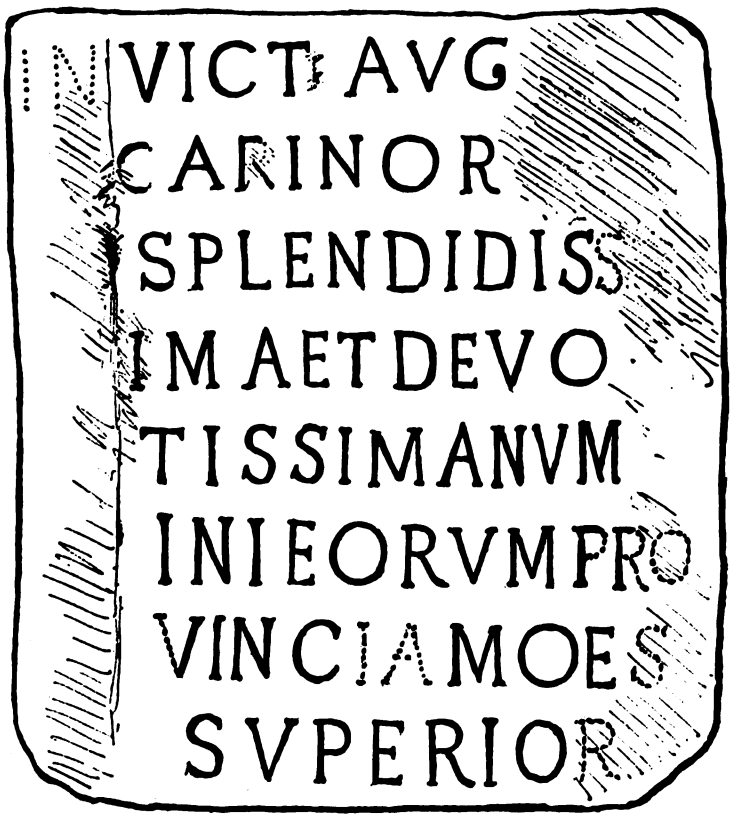
brought them into connection with the Roman road from Naissus to Ulpiana. He learnt from an Arnaout Aga a local tradition that Sultan Murad had taken the stronghold from a certain "Kralica" (Queen).

[a] *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, Bd. 1, p. 157 *seqq.* (1875).

[b] See *Fragments inédits de l'historien grec Priscus recueillis et publiés par C. Wescher* in Revue Archéologique N.S. vol. xviii. (1868), p. 86 *seqq.* Cf. Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, p. 21. Priscus, however, erroneously calls the river "the Danube."

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"Grad" or fortress of Nish itself, where, as we know from William of Tyre, the Mediæval city stood. The result of the work of clearance effected within the older "Grad", which stands on the Northern bank of the river opposite to the newer town on the Southern bank, has been to reveal large parts of the foundations of the Roman walls as well as the Southern or river gate of the ancient Naissus, the gate, namely, which seems to have been the chief object of Attila's attack. The foundations of this gate, flanked by two square towers, are to be seen about a hundred yards further from the river than the Turkish gate on this side. Many monuments and architectural fragments had also been unearthed during these military works, and by the kindness of the Serbian Commandant, General Benitsky, I was able to copy the two following hitherto unpublished inscriptions (figs. 96 and 97). The first is a votive altar to Juno, the other an altar of the same



. . . . . *IN*VICTO AVG /// CARINO R ///. SPLENDIDISS*IMA* ET DEVOTISSIMA NVMINI EORVM PRO*VINCIA* MOES*IA* SVPERIO*R*.

Fig 96.

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description dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Labrandeus, or perhaps Liberator, by a certain Aur. Vitalis, who seems to have been a member of the O(rdo) Od(essitanus) the local Senate of Odessus on the Pontic shore.

It is impossible to close this account without some reference to the neighbouring Municipium of Remesiana, the next station South-East of Naissus on the great Military Way that traversed the centre of the Peninsula, the site of which is at present occupied by the village of Bêla Palanka.[a] Here, walled into a house opposite the old Turkish Palanka, was an inscription (fig. 98) apparently recording the erection of a votive altar for the health of the Emperors Carus[b] and Carinus (in the year 283 therefore) by the province of Upper Mœsia.

Remesiana derives its chief historical interest from its bishop, St. Nicetas, who at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century completed in the remotest glens of Hæmus and Rhodope that missionary work in the Illyrian Peninsula which St. Paul had begun. His labours of conversion, alike amongst the barbarian settlers in the new Cis-Danubian Dacia in which this city lay, and amongst the wild Bessian gold-miners of the Thracian highlands, are recorded in the Ode[c] of his friend and contemporary St. Paullinus of Nola:

"O vices rerum, bene versa forma!
Invii montes prius et cruenti
Nunc tegunt versos monachis latrones
Pacis alumnos . . . .

Te patrem dicit plaga tota Borræ,
Ad tuos fatus Scytha mitigatur,
Et sibi discors fera te magistro
Pectora ponit.

Et Getæ currunt et uterque Dacus,
Qui colit terræ medio vel ille
Divitis multo bove pileatus
Accola ripæ[d] . . . .

[a] The Turkish *Mustafa Pasha Palanka.*

[b] The part of the stone containing the name of Carus is broken off: the R . . I (the last letter doubtful) after CARINO is enigmatical. To restore REGI would be too bold, though we recall Vopiscus' curious statement with regard to this Emperor "Regem denique illum Illyrici plerique vocitarunt" (Vop. *Carinus*).

[c] *S. Paulini Nolensis*, c. XXX, *De Nicetæ reditu in Daciam*, written about the year 398.

[d] *i. e.* the Provincials of *Dacia Mediterranea* and *Dacia Ripensis*. Remesiana itself was in Dacia Mediterranea.

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Callidos auri legulos in aurum
Vertis, et Bessos imitaris ipse,
E quibus vivum, fodiente verbo,
Eruis aurum "

Of the position of Remesiana, lying on the Via Militaris, twenty-four miles distant from Naissus, there can be no doubt, though it is remarkable that two monuments discovered on this site tend to show that, under the earlier Empire at least, the official name assumed by this Roman city, which, like so many others of this region, seems to have looked to Trajan as its founder, was *Respublica Ulpianorum*.[a]

Several traces are still visible of St. Nicetas' city. The old Turkish "palanka," an oblong *castrum* with a Northern and Southern gate and bastion towers at the angles, has—like those already described at Nikšić,[b] Sijenica, and elsewhere—a singularly Roman aspect. The walls themselves are largely composed of squared blocks and tiles from the ancient city, and are certainly partly built on older foundations, which are also traceable in a case of ruined wall, which forms a continuation of the Western side of the "palanka." I further learnt that some workmen in recently building a house outside the North-Eastern tower had come upon extensive foundations of an ancient building, then unfortunately no longer exposed to view. I was shown, however, a marble fragment



Fig. 99.

[a] C. I. L. III. p. 268 (No. 1685, 1686). This site, as Mommsen justly observes, must not be confounded with that of the Dardanian *Ulpiana*.

[b] See *Archæologia*, vol. XLVIII. p. 86-7.

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discovered amongst these foundations, which proved to be of the highest interest in connexion with the Christian traditions of Ramesiana. It contained part of a Roman inscription—judging from the characters—of fourth or fifth century date, and evidently relating to the dedication of a church, which may well have been the actual church of St. Nicetas.

The inscription in its present state is too imperfect to admit of confidence in its completion. That it contained the names of St. Peter and St. Paul may however be regarded as certain, and from their names appearing in the nominative case, we may look for some kind of invocation. It is to be observed that, in the case of the recently-discovered dedication slab above the door of the Christian basilica of Salonæ—the only Illyrian parallel that I can recall—we find an invocation of divine protection on the Roman Commonwealth, then synonymous with Christendom;[a] and it may, perhaps, be inferred that this was an invocation of the same kind, in which St. Peter and St. Paul were called on to protect the Church of Christ in general and the Church of Remesiana in particular. I would, therefore, venture to suggest some such restoration as the following:

† ECCLESIA[M PROTEGANT PE]
TRVS ET P[AVLVS APOSTOLI]
† SANT[I QVE ÓMNES]

The dedication to St. Peter and St. Paul has a special interest in relation to the close ecclesiastical connexion subsisting between Illyricum and the Apostolic See. The Illyrian Bishops, through their metropolitan, continued to acknowledge the authority of the Bishops of Rome to the very moment of the Slavonic conquest, and Justinian himself, in his new civil and ecclesiastical settlement of Illyricum, ratified this arrangement. In the controversies of the Age we find the Bishops of the Roman cities of Dacia Mediterranea, to which Remesiana belonged, fighting the battles of Western orthodoxy against the Byzantine East; and the personal relations of St. Nicetas himself with Italy are only another symptom of the solidarity of Latin-speaking Illyricum with the cities of Latin Christianity. The coupling of the two apostolic names in early dedications is repeated in the case of the Church of St. Peter in the Aliscamps at Arles,[b] of Loja in Spain,[c] of

[a] DEVS NOSTER † PROPITIVS ESTO
REI PVBLICAE ROMANAE.

[b] De Rossi:—(*Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1874, p. 145), *seqq.*, where see also the dedication of S. Pietro in Vincoli.

[c] *Op. cit.* 1878, p. 37.

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the basilica built by Justinian, before his accession, at Constantinople,[a] and in that of the Roman basilica of *S. Pietro in Vincoli*, on which its founder, "Xystus,"—in other words, Pope Sixtus III. (432—440 A.D.) inscribed the dedicatory lines:

HAEC PETRI PAVLIQVE SIMVL NVNC NOMINE SIGNO
XYSTVS APOSTOLICAE SEDIS HONORE FRVENS
VNVM QVAESO PARES VNVM DVO SVMITE MVNVS
VNVS HONOR CELEBRAT QVOS HABET VNA FIDES.

At Pirot, a few hours further on the Roman *Via Militaris*, the course of which —a raised causeway, often overgrown with brushwood, and flanked by two lateral

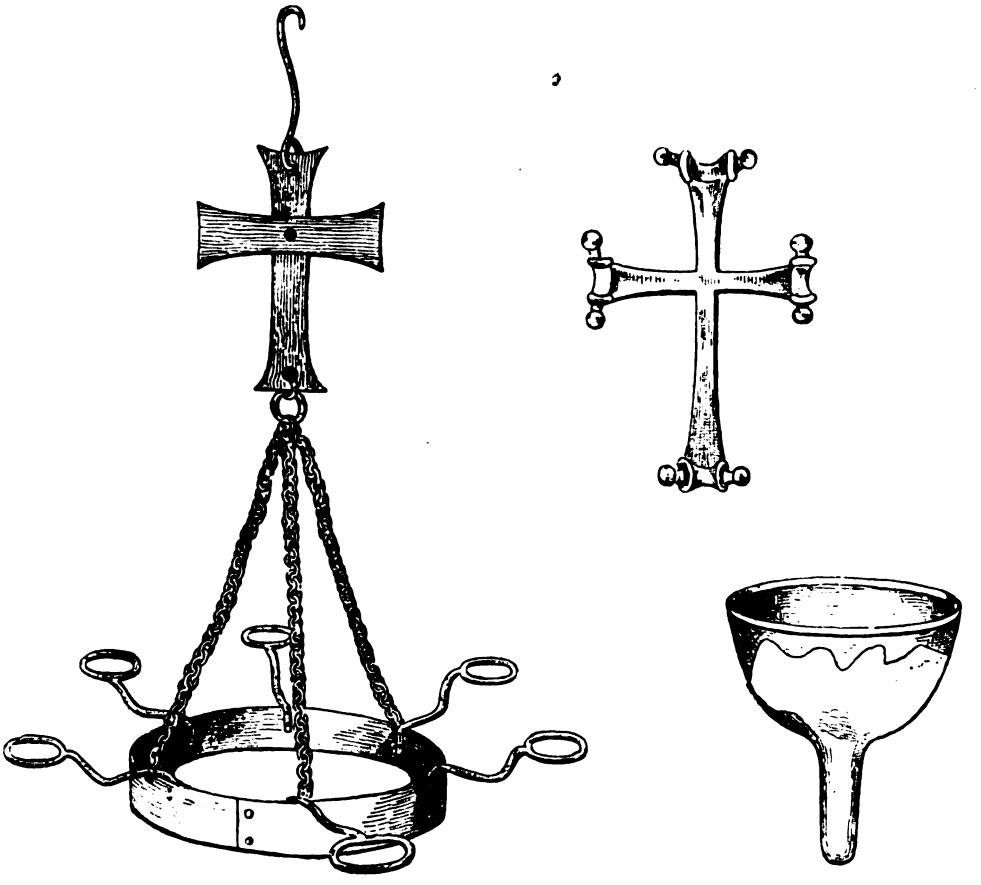


Fig. 100.

[a] *Op. cit.* 1872, p. 14. The Legates of the Apostolic See in the East wrote to Pope Hormisdas in 519, that Justinian, then Comes,—"*basilicam Sanctorum Apostolorum (Petri et Pauli) constituit, in qua desiderat et beati Laurentii Martyris reliquias esse*," &c.

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ditches—is clearly visible, crossing, recrossing, and at times coalescing, with the modern road that traverses the pass above the site of Remesiana, I was so fortunate as to come upon some further relics of Roman Christianity. In the suburbs of this town, beneath the floor of the small, half-ruinous Church of St. John the Divine, the foundations of what had evidently been a far earlier church had recently been uncovered. Visiting the spot, I observed some Roman tilework, of much the same character as that of Zlata, and was shown a curious relic of the early præ-Slavonic Christianity of the spot,—a bronze *Corona* suspended from a cross, fragments of the glass, bell-shaped lamps, which it had once supported, and another small detached cross, also of bronze. The shape of the crosses bears an obvious resemblance to those on the dedicatory slab from Remesiana, and both may be safely referred to the same period.

With the mention of these Christian relics from the scenes of St. Nicetas' labours, I may conclude my present investigation into the antiquities of a region the Roman highways of which were trodden by the pilgrim feet of this last of the Illyrian Apostles. St. Paulinus of Nola, in his Ode, already quoted, on St. Nicetas' return from Italy to his New Dacian home at Remesiana, distinctly traces his journey to Thessalonica by sea, thence by the highroad up the Axios Valley to Stobi, and thus to Scupi, the cross-line from which city to Naissus gave him easy access to his own See.

"Ibis Arctoos procul usque Dacos,
Ibis Epiro gemina videndus,
Et per Ægeos penetrabis æstus
Thessalonicen . . . .

Tu Philippæos [a] Macetum per agros
Tu Stobitanam [b] gradieris urbem
Ibis et Scupos patriæ propinquos,
Dardanus hospes."

[a] Here *Philippæos* is to be taken not as referring to *Philippi*, but as an *epitheton ornans* for Macedonia in general. Thessalonica was the special city referred to.

[b] Accepting Pagius' admirable emendation, "Stobitanam" for "Tomitanam." Tomi lay far away from any possible line of route that St. Nicetas could have taken.

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